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# SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EDUCATION

BY

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## PREFACE

In our time, most fortunately for human welfare, the underlying motive of public education has begun to receive the attention it deserves from those who administer our schools. Education, as we now generally recognize, has assumed the task of socializing human nature that the interests of society may be preserved and if possible advanced.

Education is necessarily concerned with the social problems that hamper the group life it attempts to serve. These problems are also, when analyzed, individual problems since they are all created by the behavior of persons who for one reason or another have failed to attain good social adjustment and therefore make up the load that better adjusted citizens are obliged to carry.

Teachers are beginning to see their school problem against the background of the larger social situation. They seek a definite understanding of the social problems that now vex society and hamper the good development of young life. They especially need to realize that there can be no divorcement between the life of the school and that of the community since they are in constant reciprocal relation. The very existence of present social problems is a challenge to education since faulty education is mostly responsible for them and their decrease can come only as a result of a more wholesome and efficient use of the opportunity the schools provide to direct social progress.

This book treats the American social problems most intimately related to the work of the schools. In my classes in educational sociology I have been impressed with the advantage of starting that subject with a study of concrete contemporaneous social problems. My approach to these problems is expressed in the first chapter and in more detail regarding individual development in my earlier book, "Personality and Social Adjustment."

Although written in a form that makes it most available for a text, it is hoped that the present volume will also be found by the general reader a profitable discussion of social problems in this country.

The references are given as material most likely to be accessible to the student and most helpful for independent study. As a suggestion for those who desire to purchase books for their own library one reference on each chapter is given special emphasis.

I am indebted to a host of authors on the various problems considered. I especially wish to signify my appreciation of help given in *Mental Hygiene*, the *Journal of Social Hygiene*, and the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. A portion of Chapter XIV has previously appeared in an article published in the *Scientific Monthly*. I express gratitude to Shields Warren, M.D., for valuable suggestions concerning the chapter on Public Health, although he is in no way responsible for my treatment of that subject. My obligation to my wife, Gladys Hoagland, is such that it would be most just that her name should appear as co-author.

E. R. G.



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# SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EDUCATION

## CHAPTER I

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

**Crime problems.**—The best approach to one of the most serious and perplexing of social problems is through the study of the nature and causes of juvenile delinquency. We find the most modern attitude toward crime, based upon the clearest recognition of the teaching of recent social science, in the present treatment of the juvenile delinquent. There was a time when according to law children were tried and sentenced for criminal acts in the same way as adults. Later, as a result of greater discernment and a more humane attitude, it came about that children under seven were not held for crime, while children from seven to fourteen were considered persons that might possibly have the understanding of the nature of their acts which would make them legally responsible, but this had to be decided by examination in each individual case. It is still possible in this country to treat children of fourteen years or less as criminals fully responsible and give them punishment as if they were adults.

Georgia in its state prison, on December 31, 1920, had fourteen inmates who were fourteen years of age or less; and one-tenth of all the inmates were eighteen years of age or under.<sup>1</sup> Although public opinion has been reluctant to change

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland, *Criminology*, p. 284.

its attitude toward the adult offender, the humanitarian spirit of modern life has viewed with increasing abhorrence the classifying of an immature child among adult criminals. As a result science has been permitted to influence most the juvenile criminal and the greatest progress we have made in the treatment of crime has been in the field of juvenile delinquency.

In the study of juvenile delinquency one must first of all recognize the meaning of bad conduct on the part of boys and girls. Delinquency is not necessarily an expression of immorality. Whether or not the delinquent act may be some form of vice, it must be thought of as a form of social maladjustment. All delinquency, whether intrinsically evil or merely behavior out of conformity to the adult regulations, is primarily the expression of the difficulty the juvenile meets in trying to adjust himself to wholesome adult standards of our present complex social life. At bottom it is the problem of an individual with untrained impulses and undisciplined emotions attempting to bring his conduct into conformity with the social standards of to-day. The problem therefore is not merely that of the juvenile; it represents a difficulty realized by every human being who finds inclination going one way and social requirement another. If adults meet this ordeal of adjustment constantly throughout their lives it is not strange that children have the same trouble to a much larger extent.

We must not forget that the standards that conflict with the deep-seated desires of the individual are not the result of biological inheritance, but are frequently out of sympathy with natural physical cravings: nor are the standards psychological; they are not necessarily in harmony with the needs and desires of the mind. These standards are for the most part sociological in character, created by social experience and made powerful because behind them is the strength of group approval.



The youth, however anxious to do as adults wish, finds that it is not an easy matter to express his purposes in wholesome conduct, but soon discovers that there are various authorities, more or less in conflict, each of which expects from him behavior that conforms to its standards; the home, the church, the school, the gang and the community: each requires of him that he adjust his conduct to its demands. Thus his problem of adjustment is always double; he must force his individual desires to conform to group standards, and he must adjust his behavior to the various groups of standards that insist upon obedience.

Older people do not escape this difficulty of social adjustment, but merely because of their age they have great advantage. In addition to the fact that they have well organized habits that tend to hold them in harmony with the standards they have usually followed, they also profit from having had experience enough in life to know what the standards are and how costly it is for the individual to violate them.

Because they themselves conform more easily than do children, and sometimes because they are so fearful of a child's bad adjustment becoming a serious delinquency, adults are impatient with children. They forget what was usually vivid enough in their own early experience, that the young person does not, as a rule, see the need of these coercing standards. And it must be confessed that from the child's viewpoint these standards are of value only upon the adult level and are inflicted upon children either because of their advantage to adults or because of the older people's love of dominance.

**Diagnosis of delinquency.**—In dealing with any case of delinquency there is only one sound attitude to take. Our first task must be diagnosis of the causes of the difficulty. Our point of view is exactly that of the physician who realizes that he has before him a patient who needs treatment. Before there can be treatment there must be a searching out of the causes of the trouble.

The most encouraging evidence of progress in modern criminology is the increasing understanding on the part of parents, teachers, and particularly public officials, that the first thing to do with a juvenile delinquent is to discover the causes of his bad conduct. The work of Dr. William Healy of the Judge Baker Foundation, and other specialists in juvenile delinquency, has proven to all fair-minded students of the problem the practical advantage as well as the justice of looking at the juvenile delinquent as one who needs first of all searching diagnosis.

This does not mean, as some seem to think, that the delinquent is necessarily suffering from mental deficiency or mental disease. Necessary as it is to know the condition of mind and body this is not enough for good diagnosis. All information obtainable needs to be brought to the study of the boy or girl who needs treatment. Every kind of influence that acts upon human character will be disclosed by careful study of delinquents. The causes that operate upon the delinquent can be roughly classified as biological, mental and social. The investigation can never be made merely a matter of physical or mental examination because the entire personality is involved and must be studied as a unity. In understanding how to deal with the delinquent no advantage comes from just cataloguing him or labeling the causes that appear to have influenced his conduct. He must be analyzed in a way that brings out an understanding of his difficulty and also of the treatment he needs in order to change his conduct if that be possible.

The movement for this scientific method of diagnosing delinquent behavior is making headway. Already we have centers in various cities where expert diagnosis can be had by parents, teachers, social agents, court officials and all who have to do with children. The value of this scientific study of the delinquent has greater significance than its influence upon the treatment of juvenile crime. Involved in it is the

hopeful element of modern criminology. As the work of the specialist goes forward and becomes better known it is more apparent that the treatment that works well with the child delinquent is likely to prove valuable also for the adult. Every criminal, whether young or old, to be properly handled by the authority of the state, needs first of all diagnosis. It is easier to bring this home to the consciences of well-meaning people in the case of children than of adults because the irresponsibility of childhood is widely understood.

This illustration, given by Dr. William Healy with reference to the beginning of his scientific study of delinquency for the Chicago courts, shows how impossible it was to deal justly with the juvenile delinquent without serious effort to determine the causes of his bad conduct:

"Shortly after we began work an experienced officer said that since we were interested in delinquents he would bring in what he and his colleagues called their best example of the criminal type—'This boy is a genuine, born criminal.' But five minutes' observation showed the lad to present the signs of juvenile paresis, with eyes not reacting to light, with absent knee jerks, etc., a victim of congenital syphilis—a boy with a nervous system as thoroughly diseased as it could well be and leave the patient active, merely appearing to be a desperate conduct problem."<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious, however, that the substitution of an adult for a child would not at all change the lesson of the incident. Logical as this is, it is natural that society should have first recognized its responsibility for scientific diagnosis of delinquency in relation to the child rather than the adult, for in the case of the latter a rigid traditional and conventional legal practice, in agreement with public opinion reluctant to change its attitude toward crime, checked the development of a scientific

<sup>2</sup> Healy, *Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents*, p. 13, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 96.

investigation of the causes of crime on the part of the older criminal.

It is of the greatest importance in dealing with the juvenile delinquent that we keep ever in mind the fact that he is not a creature standing by himself outside the realm of human-kind, but that the causes operating upon him are common to us all. Whether the chief difficulty be physical, mental or social in its origin, it hampers his good adjustment in the same way that physical disease, mental difficulty, or social misfortune modifies our conduct. The study of the delinquent therefore helps us to understand the mechanisms of all behavior.

The teacher that takes the scientific attitude toward a problem of delinquency and insists upon getting at the facts in order to understand the boy or girl who has committed offense is richly rewarded, for each case brings out some principle of human behavior of permanent usefulness in the interpretation of young life. Each case also demonstrates the folly of inflicting punishment until knowledge of the causes of the difficulty at least has been gained. The common belief in the efficacy of punishment is soon exploded in the mind of anyone who deals with children, if he once gets insight through scientific analysis of the motives that operate upon youthful behavior.

Investigation often discloses that the cause of the bad conduct of the boy or girl lies far back, and the delinquency is only the final expression of the difficulty. The immediate cause of the delinquency itself is not always the key to the conduct problem. Delinquency in such a case is the end of a long process; there have been so many influences working upon the individual that it is necessary to go through the entire life of the person, discovering all significant events, before satisfactory diagnosis can be made. This is one of the discouraging things about the study of delinquency, for some-



times it is difficult on account of lack of time to make the complete investigation that is necessary.

**Mechanisms of bad conduct.**—The knowledge of the mechanisms of conduct that have been discovered by specialists on delinquency is most likely to be helpful to the teacher. Such a classification does not by any means exhaust the causes that influence bad conduct, but it does bring out the kind of cause that is of most importance for the teacher and social worker to keep in mind.

First come will to power tendencies. Every normal human being has an urge toward self-expression. These self-assertive cravings that belong to all of us can easily be perverted and brought to an expression that is socially unwholesome. In this way self-assertion becomes the motive for delinquent conduct. The will to power cravings are sometimes intensified by the child's protest against hard circumstances. Personal or family conditions that create mental dissatisfaction of any sort as a result of the suffering they produce or because they curb normal self-assertion easily bring about some unsocial expression of self-assertion. For example, the boy at twelve or thirteen may suddenly awaken to the fact that he is seriously handicapped in some respect as compared with other boys. To get his mind off his disadvantage he often turns to bad behavior that soon gets him into difficulty. Any kind of experience that seems to the child to destroy the respect of his fellows or to bring him into social disfavor tempts him to bad conduct. Poverty, for instance, makes him eager to bully and to practice stubborn disobedience. The badly dressed boy not only enjoys picking on the child that wears better clothes than he does, but he is most happy when he achieves leadership by defying authority. His inner protest easily goads him to open rebellion, especially when this permits him to act the hero and win the admiration of those more fortunate than he.

The girl is no less likely to react to poverty than the boy, but she is less willing to express her state of mind by open rebellion, though she occasionally does. The girl's protest is usually less openly expressed than the boy's because, in conformity with present social convention, she is less aggressive, realizing that outspoken protest will be liable to make her situation all the more noticeable.

The child who has a serious physical handicap may, in the same manner as the poorly dressed boy, find great relief for his hampered self-assertion in some form of delinquency. If he is deformed or has some other physical defect or is constantly irritated by physical ailments that need attention, he easily switches to delinquency as a means of relief. If either of these boys falls upon some wholesome means of satisfying his desire for favorable attention, such as superiority in studies, things go well with him; if he can not satisfy his desire for recognition in legitimate ways, he easily becomes a rowdy or a trouble-maker. If in some manner he can be made to feel his deficiency less keenly or if some happy way of finding wholesome satisfaction for his thwarted urge for self-assertion can be suggested to him, his sympathies can be won by those in authority and thus he can be directed to wholesome adjustment.

There is always risk, however, in dealing with such a boy, of making him feel that he is feared and that someone is trying to buy his support. If he gets the idea that his power is feared he goes still further in his bad conduct.

2 Another type of will to power motive that appears in delinquency is the anti-social grudge. This comes about from the child's taking emotional hostility from an earlier experience and bringing it over to operate at some later time against somebody who has had nothing to do with the first occurrence. It may be that the boy has deep-seated hostility because he thinks he was publicly shamed by some teacher, and he brings the emotions connected with this episode into his

relations with some other teacher who is treating him with the utmost consideration and kindness. Having had his self-assertion crushed, he develops chronic bitterness and immensely enjoys pouring out his grudge against a perfectly innocent victim. This anti-social grudge starts the child on the highway toward crime. His unreasonable hostility flames into passion at the slightest opportunity until he does some desperate act which brings him in trouble with the law.

The grudge most commonly originates from some school or home experience. Perhaps the boy is knocked about at home. He goes to school defiant and almost immediately gets into trouble. Punishment follows. His school experience adds to the bitterness of his home treatment. If you could change his home conditions, good behavior might quickly follow. It often happens, however, that though you can find the cause of his difficulty you can not change it.

No one who has heard Dr. Frankwood Williams illustrate this anti-social grudge by his experience in one of our western penitentiaries is likely to forget the story. While making a mental examination of the inmates, Dr. Williams was told one day that one of the worst criminals was to be sent to him. When the young fellow appeared Dr. Williams thought there must have been some mistake made, but soon found that the name was that of the criminal who had been terrorizing that part of the country for so long. Nothing about the young man suggested his desperate character, and after a little conversation his life story clearly revealed the social influences that had pushed him into a criminal career. His mother had died early and his father had married again. His stepmother already had two sons older than he. These boys and their mother soon began to nag the little fellow and treat him with contempt. Again and again he was thrashed by the older boys. The stepmother constantly reiterated her bad opinion of the little boy. Time after time the lad vowed he would not stand such treatment any longer, but was never

able to carry his resolution into effect. Thus he suffered an increasing loss of self-respect in addition to the physical punishment he received from the three members of the family that were out of sympathy with him. His father apparently was either indifferent or unable to protect him.

After having received unusually hard treatment one day the boy announced to the family circle his determination to quit. He shouted out to them that the next time they saw him he would be the crook that they had so often declared he was; and then he disappeared. His reading had been such that his idea of courage was personified by the western desperado. To the West he went. He quickly drifted into the criminal class and soon was himself successfully carrying out crime. Although he had never committed murder he had wounded more than one officer of the law sent to apprehend him. He was proud of his record. At heart, however, he was free from evil intention. His grudge concerning the bad treatment he had received in his childhood had distorted his life and turned his ambition into unwholesome expression. He was utterly out of harmony with organized society and determined to earn his livelihood by preying upon society. It was evident that had he been given friendly sympathy and wise direction, his will to power cravings that reacted against his mistreatment could have been guided into constructive channels; and the probability is that he would have been unusually successful in some useful vocation.

The anti-social grudge motive is not merely the product of harsh treatment. The disposition of the individual has to be taken into account. The ridicule and punishment that roll lightly off one boy will be deeply resented by another, and constantly thought about. The sensitive child or the child of very keen pride will mull over in his thinking any treatment that seems to him to be unjust until so far as his emotions are concerned he becomes a rebel, eager to attack some form of authority. Although this attitude of mind will



not necessarily drive him into crime it is exceedingly easy for the boy moved by feelings of a chronic grudge to develop a criminal career if only the social situation be such as to encourage this form of self-assertion.

A third common form of unwholesome self-assertion comes as a result of the child's lack of interests. The boy with strong character, whose environment gives no opportunity for absorbing or exciting experiences, frequently stumbles upon anti-social conduct which provides the thrill he craves. A monotonous existence, an atmosphere of repression at school or at home, or a mere emptiness of daily routine, provides the setting for delinquency on the part of the boy whose physical energy and mental powers find no adequate outlet; some pompous official, teacher or policeman easily gives the stimulus necessary for the beginning of a criminal career. Challenging authority, in the person of a representative of the law who is too satisfied with his self-importance to be discerning in dealing with young people, brings to the boy the excitement he craves. He embarks upon some form of delinquency simply because it is the most thrillingly courageous life he knows. If the youthful delinquent can establish himself as a leader among his associates, who look to him to think up lawless acts, his self-assertion pushes him all the more vigorously toward crime.

It is exceedingly difficult in so complex a product as a criminal personality to untangle the influences that operate upon character, but it seems reasonable to assume that if this could be successfully done it would be found that the compelling motive that has brought many criminals to their mis-doing has been their lack of normal interests and their human craving for some thrilling experience. It has certainly been found by experience that a gang of boys started toward crime can be led away from it by coming under the influence of some sympathetic older person who suggests new and wholesome ways of finding zest and excitement. So far as oppor-

tunity for constructive and intensely interesting recreation is given boys, the tendency toward crime is lessened. Society itself is guilty of negligence and is socially blameworthy when it denies to the growing boy and girl legitimate ways of finding highly stimulating experiences.

Such emptiness of life bears heavily upon the city boy, particularly when the environment is constantly stimulating him but not giving him any outlet for free activity. Excitement is the youth's normal human craving, and if he can not have it in ways that conserve the welfare of the social group he will snatch at the thrills of unlawful behavior.

It is very difficult in this connection to estimate how largely the lurid moving picture acts as an antidote for suppressed interests. That the movie stimulates toward delinquency at times can not be doubted; it is also true that the boy, under the suggestion of the moving picture, sets off on some unwise adventure, such as running away from home to go west to be among the Indians or cowboys. On the other hand, it is certainly true that many a boy who otherwise would find no intensely satisfying thing to do gets relief by identifying himself with the hero of some melodrama. The fact that he gets satisfaction keeps him from entering upon some active criminalistic behavior. In such cases one can not be sure that the boy will be content with imaginings. At any time suggestion may become so strong as to turn him from this passive identification with heroes of the film to active rehearsal of the things that have gripped his attention. At best the moving picture of this sort is a risky substitution on the lower level of the boy's craving for adventure, but in some cases it doubtless turns the boy away from the more dangerous adventure that he would pursue if his life were entirely devoid of excitement.

Dr. William Healy has given us the description of a boy who shows perfectly the ease with which criminal behavior may atone for poverty of interests. This lad of thirteen had

become the leader of a gang of youthful burglars. Their thieving adventures were skillfully planned and cleverly carried out. The boy was physically and mentally alert and active. He had courage and aggressiveness. His environment had little to give him any zest in living. His father was ignorant and drank a great deal. The home, kept by his stepmother, was most uninviting. The boy found in stealing and burglary plenty of adventure and enterprise that captivated his mental powers and brought him money which could be spent for other exciting pleasures. Dr. Healy tells us that this youthful burglar was quickly turned from his criminalistic career by being given a country home with ordinary opportunities for wholesome interests and adventures. The personality that had been driven by barrenness of experience to seek excitement in crime soon found in the normal country environment that there are pleasures more thrilling than those he had fallen upon in his life of crime.<sup>3</sup>

The youth who has tasted crime and found it exciting, who has been caught and has served a sentence, is often unable to keep from the temptations of criminal behavior because he goes back to an environment that has no compelling interest. Such a boy needs more than just a chance to earn his living when he returns from the custody of the state; in addition to the means of self-support, he also needs wise direction that will permit him to find in life some source of wholesome interests. The stronger the personality, the greater danger there is of poverty of surroundings leading toward self-assertion in some form of criminal enterprise.

A second group of causes that operate to produce delinquency may be gathered under the title emotional conflict. What is known as mental conflict seriously disturbs personal behavior and therefore occasionally becomes a cause of bad conduct. These conflicts often come from some experience in the first years of childhood, but show themselves with most

<sup>3</sup> Healy, Individual Delinquent, p. 330.

upset during the adolescent period. They are disturbances that result from conflicting elements in the inner life of the child. Those who have had much to do with childhood delinquency realize that these disturbances often have to do with sex in one form or another. This is not strange when one takes into account the unusual opportunity sex has to bring about emotional attitudes, because the sex instinct is more stringently repressed by social standards than other instincts and also because the attitude of taboo that society takes toward matters of sex frequently creates in a child an intense curiosity regarding a matter that has clinging about it such a quantity of mystery. Impulses of sex are at times precociously and artificially stimulated by conditions of modern life, particularly in our cities; and the length of the adolescent period makes the strain of adjustment for the boy or girl very great. It is not surprising that this instinct should cause so much emotional conflict. In view of these conditions it is unfortunate that so little is done by adults to help children pass easily through their period of stress.

Sex is not, however, the only cause of emotional conflict. Another prolific cause of emotional conflict in the child is doubt concerning his own parentage. Adopted children and illegitimate children sometimes suffer a very keen emotional conflict which ends in bad social behavior when for the first time they are told the true facts regarding their parentage. Jealousy toward a step-parent also becomes a cause of emotional conflict. Any deceit practiced upon a child, any apparent failure in trustworthiness on the part of a relative or friend may call up in the child intense suspicion and emotional disturbance.

Another cause of mental conflict comes about when the child knows that he is falsely suspected, and a sense of shame is created by his knowledge that others are thinking ill of him without basis. Unjustified criticism in public and any false accusation has in it the possibility of a conflict that will switch

a child from good behavior to bad. Of course the more sensitive the child, the more easily these emotional conflicts make trouble for him. The conflict can not be understood by considering only the event that brought it about: the character of the personality that responds to the occurrence is the more significant element. What means little to one child becomes a terrifically dangerous experience to another.

It is easy for fear to play a large part in these emotional conflicts, particularly when they have to do with matters of sex. Dr. Healy has a striking illustration of a case of this sort. A boy of ten, brought up in an eastern college town in a very good home, showed remarkable propensities toward delinquency in spite of the fact that his environment seemed most wholesome. He ran away from school and from home, and stole. One time he was away from home for two days and nights. He had unmistakably started on the downward path and an unintelligent treatment would without doubt have made of him a very clever criminal. When he was given an opportunity to have expert help he gladly and intelligently coöperated. In the investigation he soon expressed the desire to leave his home town. It was not difficult to follow up this suggestion and finally get from him a confession which revealed the inner conflict that was making his adjustment to life so difficult. He had come in contact with bad sex practices as a result of the teaching of some older boys. Information given him and the experiences which he saw fascinated his curiosity until he found it impossible to get out of his mind his persistent thoughts regarding sex matters. The parents were informed of the emotional shock which the boy had suffered and conscientiously and intelligently coöperated in a program which was expected to release the boy from his obsession and attach his thought to wholesome interests. He was taken from the neighborhood where his unfortunate experiences had originated and provided with other associations. This treatment quickly resulted in a complete change of



attitude in the boy and he was never again guilty of any delinquency.

Adolescent conflicts often center about home relationships. Parents who deal too strictly with their children and make the family atmosphere one of constant repression get their children into a state of mind that sometimes in the later years of adolescence issues in a serious mental conflict. Such parents develop in their children a spirit of rebellion by their policy, and when the child struggles to free himself from the tyranny of the home he occasionally finds himself involved in a very disturbing mental conflict; his impulses lead him toward freedom, while habit and the ties of affection bind him to his past behavior. In the midst of this turmoil accidental suggestion, and particularly an unfortunate choice of associates, is sufficient to turn him from his earlier good behavior to grave forms of delinquency.

In much the same way the family that has never succeeded in teaching its children good self-control prepares the way for an emotional crisis. The undisciplined child goes out of the home and soon strikes some irksome social repression. Not having been trained in self-denial he finds it difficult to endure this unexpected coercion. Perhaps he does as he pleases and immediately finds himself in a disagreeable social situation. He receives punishment for his disregard of his social responsibilities and not infrequently this leads to sullenness and a flaming desire for vengeance. He strikes back; is discovered; punishment follows again. His emotional disturbance grows and deepens. By this process he easily slides into a state of chronic rebellion, developing in his outlook toward life an anti-social attitude of mind which keeps him perpetually in social turmoil. For such a child delinquency becomes almost instinctive.

In later adolescence one sometimes finds a delinquent suffering from an emotional conflict due to changes in religious faith. A boy or girl narrowly trained for life, given in home

and church a short-sighted dogmatism, comes in contact with ideas that undermine his earlier religious confidence. The religious development of the individual has made no provision for readjustment and growth. As the childhood acceptance of limited dogma is pushed aside by what appears to be antagonistic fact, a mental conflict ensues; and as a result some young men and women completely change in their moral behavior. Almost overnight they pass from strictly conventional conduct to a radical indifference to social standards. Fired by this emotional upheaval, they may go so far in their extreme conduct as to become responsible for some serious act of delinquency.

3 A third group of causes of delinquency cluster about the inability of the child to cope with his social responsibilities because of the difficulty of control inherent in his personality or because of his lack of capacity. One of the outstanding causes of failure of control is adolescent instability. It is easy for the adult to forget the storm and stress of adolescence. No child passes through this period without some risk of unstable conduct. There are of course differences in individuals, and some pass rather smoothly through the adolescent period. Adults who have had this experience find it difficult to understand the tumult that rages in adolescent children of a different type.

It is easy both to exaggerate and minimize adolescent instability. Puberty brings new physiological conditions, frequently rapid bodily growth and almost always mental changes that quickly lift the individual from the child level to that characteristic of the adult. The internal secretions of various ductless glands are an important element in this period of remarkable physiological development. Changes in the sex glands of the body would by themselves exercise a considerable influence in awakening new impulses and making adjustment more difficult than it has been.

The mental changes that accompany the physiological are

equally significant. Sensitiveness, jealousy, self-love are often intensified by the adolescent experience; desire for recognition and for adventure are also stimulated. Craving for freedom from authority has a large part in the new problems of adjustment. Emotions flow powerfully and as a result we have exaltation, depression and morbid self-examination.

With impulses running strong the adolescent is brought in contact with an environment only partially adjusted to his desires, and it is not strange that the problem of self-control in one form or another arises. Indeed it is remarkable that the adolescent's difficulty of adjustment is not more serious than it usually is. It must not be forgotten that the adult in authority at times lacks sympathy and understanding, patience and even fairness. His one aim is to bring the adolescent into perfect conformity with his own interpretation of adult standards.

Another group of delinquents with little self-control are those excessively open to suggestibility. There are great differences in children as well as adults in their response to suggestion. Those who are abnormally responsive to suggestion, whether it comes from individuals or from a crowd, are easily led into delinquency. Even though they may recognize the unlawful character of their act they are sometimes possessed with an overwhelming impulse to do the thing that has been suggested. They take over the opinions and standards of their associates with little discrimination and run the risk of all sorts of exploitation. The fact that they can be made a tool for the working out of somebody else's purpose at times causes them to commit a crime with very little motive except the suggestion that has worked upon them. This abnormal suggestibility may be found among individuals who are otherwise normal as well as among those who are mentally defective or psychopathic.

Likewise those who are excessively impulsive are driven toward delinquency as the result of the difficulty they find in

making satisfactory social adjustment, constantly getting into hot water in their relationships and perhaps suffering vocationally because of their proneness to give way to their impulses. Either for relief or for means of self-support they turn to conduct which violates law and brings them into social difficulty.

Reading, particularly of the lurid type, as found in the sensational newspaper and magazine, can become a means of suggestion which originates impulses that the individual may be unable to keep out of his mind. Driven by his persistent imagery, he finally commits the act of which he has been thinking or substitutes something else less serious or more feasible.

A certain type of moving picture stimulates some who are over-suggestible and affects their conduct in the same way as if the suggestion came from an intimate and dominant personality. The interest and vividness that the movies have for most children necessarily make them prolific in suggestion when seen by those who are emotionally unstable. Mere incidents in a picture that makes no bad impression on most children will perhaps in the case of a child too suggestible or inherently impulsive become the stimulus for a line of thought that presses toward bad conduct. It is this which makes the problem of censorship of the movies so difficult.

The newspaper is only slightly less effective in the stirring up of suggestible individuals. The description of a crime which brings disgust or passing interest to the average reader may in the case of the emotionally unstable create a habit of thought that irresistibly turns the child to the doing of the same offense. This fact explains the contagious character of horrible murders and unusual forms of vice when they are recorded in any detail in the public press. For the sake of social welfare the newspaper must go still further in its effort not to incite towards violence or vicious behavior. The press has learned its danger in giving in detail stories of suicide and it is to be hoped that newspaper ethics will make the descrip-

tion of crime increasingly free from detail. Here, however, as in the case of the movies, the problem is complicated by the fact that what is perfectly harmless for the imagination of most readers may prove to be a most dangerous suggestion for those already prepared to receive its stimulation.

No individual is so helped or hurt by environmental circumstances as he who is excessively pliable under the hands of suggestion. Placed in wholesome surroundings, he does well. If in any way, however, he gets into bad company or stumbles upon some source of unwholesome suggestion, his career changes at once and follows the line of least resistance.

In dealing with delinquency a large place has to be given to that group of individuals who lack the basis for well-adjusted conduct. In this class are the neurotic, the psychopathic personality, and the mentally deficient. By the neurotic we mean those who on account of inherent weakness find it hard to adjust themselves to the actual circumstances of everyday life. Without the strength necessary for good social adaptation, they flee from reality or assume a line of behavior which makes their manner of living difficult and socially undesirable. The psychopath has an emotional instability which makes it easy for him to commit all sorts of foolish deeds. Unstable within, he naturally finds adjustment to the conditions of his outer life exceedingly difficult. Although the neurotic and psychopathic personalities are not necessarily criminal in tendency, the former especially being guilty of conduct that is troublesome to others and hurtful to the self rather than distinctly anti-social, nevertheless under the stimulus of certain circumstances they lack the ability to make the adjustments required to keep them out of delinquency, and in such cases their fundamentally unsound mentality operates in association with other influences to put them amongst the delinquents.

The difficulty that the feeble-minded have in making wholesome social adjustments has long been recognized. In the



past there has been a tendency to exaggerate feeble-mindedness as a cause of delinquency, and some have made the mentally deficient criminalistic by instinct. Although limited in intelligence the feeble-minded vary in impulse and disposition much the same as those endowed with ordinary mental capacity. Since our social life is organized by those who are mentally normal and is standardized to average intelligence, the feeble-minded are severely hampered in their adjustments and need exceptional protection and direction. Turned loose in society and stimulated by unwholesome suggestions, they easily become delinquent. In a society where judgment, self-control and discernment play so large a part in good behavior, the feeble-minded are apt to fail and are credited with more evil propensity than is justified.

Since society can not grade its activities to the level of intelligence of the feeble-minded, it becomes the obligation of the state to discover them and give them the degree of control which will make their deficiency socially harmless. Experience demonstrates that this policy does not require, as was so often thought when the feeble-minded were first given scientific study, institutional care for all, but merely the guidance of understanding and responsible persons who can help the feeble-minded, especially of the higher grades, to keep within an environment that is socially sound and within their power of adjustment.

In the diagnosis of the defective no advantage comes from merely tagging the individual as the victim of some cause. Diagnosis of delinquent conduct does not permit the simple analysis of causes that we have in the case of infectious disease, as when we know that the typhoid germ is responsible for the illness. The proper diagnosis is rather like the modern health examination which attempts to get at the state of the entire body and find its weakness. An investigation of the delinquent therefore means the most complete understanding of his entire personality, including the hereditary and environ-

mental influences, as a result of finding out every fact that can be had concerning the person. The state of body, mental characteristics, early childhood experiences, home conditions: in short, everything that throws light upon the individual person must be studied. A mere testing of the intelligence gets nowhere. In the light of all the facts procurable and after a consultation of several specialists the causes of the delinquency can be brought out so as to provide a basis for a treatment that is intelligent and just.

In contrast the absurdity of the backward procedure of our less progressive states appears in law that provides only for the examination of the delinquent by two or three local physicians who pass upon his mental responsibility. These archaic so-called examinations frequently consist of nothing more than a little conversation between the prisoner and the doctor untrained in psychology and psychiatry, familiar only with experiences of general medical practice, who prides himself upon his ability to detect soundness of mind by looking at an accused individual and having a few minutes' conversation with him.

**Delinquency and the home.**—Since the home has the first chance to influence the child it has much to do with encouraging or changing attitudes and propensities that direct the child toward crime. The home represents for the average child his first environment and he never shakes from him the impression he gets in these formative years. Although it is easy to see how the home figures in delinquency it is not possible to separate the home influences, in many cases, from the other influences that have played upon the character of the boy or girl. Attempts have been made to classify and even to scale family life according to wholesomeness. It is obvious that families can not be compared and measured by any objective standard in a thoroughly satisfactory way. Social workers, nevertheless, have to recognize the differences

in family efficiency and in their reports they judge whether family conditions are good or bad.

It must be remembered that family life represents a complex relationship and what may be perfectly good for one child works havoc with another. The personality of the child plays a large part as well as that of parents and other relatives. Although, as one would expect, poor families furnish a disproportionate number of delinquents, poverty as a state by itself can not be charged with causing delinquency. It is more probable that the poverty as well as the delinquency is an expression of other and more profound influences that operate upon the boy or girl as they have operated upon the parent. Alcoholism is an illustration of an influence that would tend toward the disintegration of the family and in this way affect the delinquency of the child.

Dr. Healy in his study of 823 cases of delinquency, comprising 560 males and 263 females, found that defective home conditions, including alcoholism, appeared second as the main factor in the delinquency, occurring as the most important contributing cause in 162 cases. Defective home conditions were shown as minor factors in 394 cases; as an influence in bringing about delinquency, defective home conditions were assigned by this study in 556 cases, and the first factor, mental abnormalities and peculiarities, was assigned in 556 cases. Dr. Healy breaks up these home influences in their effect upon delinquency according to the table on page 24.

The family broken by divorce, disease, or death appears to be an important element in causing delinquency. Of course it may be that in some of these cases if the family had held together the tendency toward delinquency would have been even more pronounced. When that is true the breaking of the family is itself the result of other influences that would make an unwholesome life whether the parents remained together or not. It stands to reason, however, that a family with

TABLE I<sup>4</sup>

## ANALYSIS OF DEFECTIVE HOME CONDITIONS

	MAJOR	MINOR
Quarreling and other irritative conditions.....	26	78
Members of family at home alcoholic, immoral or criminalistic.....	62	95
Poverty.....	4	59
Lack of home control through:		
gross ignorance.....	2	10
illness.....	2	26
father away much.....	..	6
mother working out.....	21	32
sheer inability of parents to control.....	11	68
family not immigrated.....	..	3
Parental neglect excessive.....	7	31
Family broken up.....	20	35
No home, plus:		
street life.....	..	1
wandering life.....	..	4
child changed about in institutions and board- ing places.....	2	17
Immoral home environment.....	5	23
	<hr/> 162	

only one parent produces a situation which makes the normal development of the child exceedingly difficult. Although there are differences of opinion as to whether the death of the mother or of the father is the more consequential, the study of Shideler, based upon such statistics as we have, appears to demonstrate that the death of the mother is more likely than the death of the father to be a cause of delinquency.<sup>5</sup> The bad effect of divorce comes out in all studies of delinquency.

The following table gives the results of several studies that have been made of the influence of family life upon delinquency:

<sup>4</sup> Healy, *Individual Delinquent*, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Shideler, *Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States*, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Jan., 1918, p. 710.

TABLE 2<sup>6</sup>

SHOWING COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF PARENTAL CONDITIONS  
OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN THREE PREVIOUS STUDIES MADE  
IN CITIES

Parental Conditions	Breckin- ridge and Abbott 10 Years. Per Cent	Breckin- ridge and Abbott Case Study. Per Cent	West Side New York City. Per Cent	Healy 1000 Repeaters. Per Cent
Parents living together..	66.1	56.7	57.1	50.2
Father dead.....	13.6	19.9	22.7	8.7
Mother dead.....	8.9	9.8	8.6	15.4
Both parents dead.....	3.1	4.3	5.2	5.7
Parents separated.....	4.9	7.6	6.4	20.0
Other abnormal.....	.5	1.7	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2.9	.....	.....	.....
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3 shows that in England and Scotland as well as in this country the broken family goes hand in hand with delinquency. (*See* page 26.)

The immigrant family has a hard problem in providing conditions that make for wholesome social adjustment. The father and mother frequently can not speak English or do not adapt themselves readily to American ways; and as a result the children, who are quickly assimilated into American life, look with contempt upon their parents. The parents also may enforce old customs from the motherland that are so out of harmony with American habits as to be almost unendurable to the children. In any case there has to be rapid adjustment of family conditions to unexpected circumstances and the gulf between parent and child is usually wider than it would have

<sup>6</sup> Shideler, op. cit., p. 714.



TABLE 3<sup>7</sup>

COMPARING PERCENTAGES OF DELINQUENT BOYS FROM BROKEN HOMES IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES \*

Parental Conditions	England and Scotland		United States	
	Number of Delinquents	Per Cent of Distribution	Number of Delinquents	Per Cent of Distribution
Parents living together †.....	1383	44.5	3663	48.2
Mother dead.....	534	17.2	975	12.8
Father dead.....	535	17.3	1362	17.9
Both parents dead.....	130	4.2	429	5.7
Divorce, desertion, etc, ‡.....	125	4.0	802	10.6
Other abnormal ‡.	402	12.8	280	3.7
Parental condition unknown.....	....	.....	87	1.1
Total.....	3109	100.0	7598	100.0
Total normal.....	1383	44.5	3663	48.2
Total abnormal..	1726	55.5	3848	50.7
Unknown.....	....	.....	87	1.1
Total.....	3109	100.0	7598	100.0

\* Figures for England and Scotland are taken from the Forty-ninth Report for Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain, 1895. These statistics are twenty years old, but they are the best obtainable at present and should be valuable for general comparison purposes.

† The English statistics give figures for the abnormal only—remainder of the boys were assumed to have normal parental conditions.

‡ English statistics do not mention divorce, but desertion only. Illegitimacy and parents destitute or criminal are grouped under other abnormal.

been if the family had remained in the home land. As the result of the failure of the parents to maintain discipline, or

<sup>7</sup> Shideler, *Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States*, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Jan., 1918, p. 716.

because of the lack of understanding between parents and children, or because of the children's drifting out of family life in early years, conditions favorable for delinquency are developed.

What is true of the immigrant family is to an extent true of all American families of the present generation. On account of rapid changes in social and family habits it is easy for a separation to occur between parents and children, complicating the problem of adjustment for the young. Where there is no effective discipline, or where the discipline is excessively strict, the child suffers. If favoritism toward one child be added, the situation becomes all the more dangerous and the family fails in its function as a training school.

**The juvenile court.**—One of the wisest reforms in our judicial procedure has been the origin of the juvenile court. It had its first development in Chicago. In its inception it represented the problem of advancing the age limit demarcating the period during which the child could be treated as not responsible for his conduct in the adult criminal sense. The juvenile court also freed itself from the orthodox methods of the criminal court by placing its work upon the basis of chancery or equity jurisdiction. The Juvenile Court Law of Chicago was an extension of this idea of guardianship, bringing all delinquent children into the group of those who needed the protection and guardianship of the state. The need of this reform was exceedingly great and the movement developed rapidly after the Chicago court was started.

In a survey of courts hearing children's cases in 1918 Miss Belden of the Children's Bureau found the following features characteristic of juvenile courts:<sup>8</sup>

1. Separate hearings for children's cases.
2. Informal or chancery procedure.
3. Regular probation service, both for investigation and supervisory cases.

<sup>8</sup> Belden, Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases, *U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication 65*, pp. 10-12.

4. Detention separate from adults.

5. Special court records and probation records, both legal and social.

6. Provision for mental and physical examinations.

In 1920 all but three states, Maine, Connecticut and Wyoming, had laws authorizing the juvenile court; and in these three states some juvenile court methods were carried out in dealing with children who had committed crime.

The most promising thing in the development of the juvenile court was the recognition of the need of studying the child to give him the treatment that was best for him without reference to the treatment of other actual or potential delinquents. As the result of this emphasis upon understanding the child and working out remedial treatment for him, the science of conduct has had an opportunity to influence the juvenile court in a way impossible in the ordinary criminal court. This has permitted the juvenile court to square itself with modern science in a way denied a court that deals in the orthodox fashion with criminals. In the juvenile court legal procedure has freed itself of the primitive motive of vengeance and established the scientific attitude toward problems of social conduct.

The point of view of the juvenile court is well expressed by Judge Sater in the case of Januszewski (196 Federal, 123):

"The purpose of the statute is to save minors under the age of 17 years from prosecution and conviction on charges of misdemeanors and crimes and to relieve them from the consequent stigma attaching thereto; to guard and protect them against themselves and evil-minded persons surrounding them; to protect and train them physically, mentally, and morally. It seeks to benefit not only the child but the community also by surrounding the child with better and more elevating influences and training it in all that counts for good citizenship and usefulness as a member of society. Under it the State, which through its appropriate organs is the guardian of the children

within its borders, assumes the custody of the child, imposes wholesome restraints, and performs parental duties, and at a time when the child is not entitled either by the laws of nature or of the State to absolute freedom, but is subjected to the restraint and custody of a natural or legally constituted guardian to whom it owes obedience and subjection. It is of the same nature as statutes which authorize compulsory education of children, the binding of them out during minority, the appointment of guardians and trustees to take charge of the property of those who are incapable of managing their own affairs, the confinement of the insane, and the like. The welfare of society requires and justifies such enactments. The statute is neither criminal nor penal in its nature, but an administrative police regulation.”<sup>9</sup>

The juvenile court is important therefore not merely because when efficiently administered it provides a more humane way of handling the juvenile delinquent but also because it represents a forward step in the socializing of the law. The significance of the juvenile court as an evidence of advancement in the socialization of law is clearly stated by Judge Edward F. Waite in the February, 1921, number of the *Minnesota Law Review*:

“One need not be a profound student of affairs to have observed that in the last quarter century the emphasis of public opinion, as expressed in statutes and decisions of the courts, has made a notable shift away from preservation of the rights of private property as the chief object of the law, and toward securing and safeguarding the welfare of people—people as individuals and as grouped in the community. This process of humanizing and socializing the law and its administration has gone on more rapidly in substantive than in adjective law, probably because the influence of the conservative legal profession has been most effective in the field of procedure. But, beginning with the juvenile court in 1899, one can trace the

<sup>9</sup> Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 97, p. 16.

process of socialization in the latter field expressing itself in the wide and rapid spread of juvenile courts and the developments of courts of conciliation and small claims, morals courts, traffic courts, and courts of domestic relations; in quasi-judicial instrumentalities, such as rate commissions, industrial-accident commissions, minimum-wage commissions, the so-called 'court of industrial relations' in Kansas, and in agencies for securing justice for the poor, such as legal aid bureaus, private and municipal, and the public defender, and in the increasing use by criminal courts of scientific aids and organized probation. . . .

"The basic ideas of the juvenile court are not new; they are as old as chancery. The new things that happened in Chicago in 1899 were the working out of these ideas to their logical conclusions as legal concepts and the creation of an agency to make them effective; that is, an organized and socialized piece of judicial machinery. The child in need of the guardianship of the State, whether dependent, neglected, or delinquent, was cared for in a single court instead of several, as before, with adequate administrative aid at its command."<sup>10</sup>

The same judge pointed out that any encroachment of a legalistic attitude in juvenile court practices will retard the socializing process.

"Socialization of the juvenile-court procedure depends on the clear, firm grasp of the principles of equity. The court is one of guardianship, not a penal court. Nothing that the child says can incriminate him in this court, because the object of the court is his welfare. Socialization involves getting at the whole truth; nothing that is true and relevant should be excluded. Socialization involves coöperation, constructive discipline, and the dynamic concept as expressed in the principle that an order in this court may be modified as life conditions are modified.

"The chief obstacles to socialization of juvenile-court procedure are lingering shreds of penal terminology and criminal-law usage. Obsolete thinking and unclear thinking are ob-

<sup>10</sup> Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards, *U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 97*, p. 18.



stacles. Socialization implies that judges and court officials are to be experts—experts in scientific training and in the art of human relations.”<sup>11</sup>

As one would expect, there is antagonism in some quarters with reference to the juvenile court. That it is more in line with modern humanitarianism than the criminal court few will deny; it merely does not go far enough to satisfy many of the students of delinquency. There are two proposals looking toward a better way of handling the maladjustment of the child. Some would merge the juvenile court into the wider-reaching Court of Domestic Relations, which would have jurisdiction over all family problems, including delinquency and other matters appertaining to children. On the other hand many believe that discipline problems of children should be transferred to the schools and handled by them, with no suggestion of a court of any sort.

The juvenile court has been loaded with a great amount of administrative work that is extra-judicial, such as the administration of mothers' pension laws and supervision of the education of children by probation officers connected with the court. The work of the court so far as treatment of delinquency is concerned is increasingly a matter of education. The question naturally arises therefore: why should not the schools take over the entire problem and handle it from a purely educational viewpoint? One argument for this change in the handling of delinquency is the help it would give to the school in revealing failures of the educational system that show themselves in the maladjustment of children. Although there are certain obligations that fall upon the juvenile court, requiring the judicial background, which could hardly be met successfully by ordinary educational administrators, there is no reason why a considerable part of the work now performed by juvenile courts with reference to the discipline of children and

<sup>11</sup> Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards, *U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 97*, p. 69.

the study of their personality difficulties could not be carried on by experts connected with the schools. In this way the schools would solve many of their own difficulties of a social kind and to that extent relieve the courts, leaving them free for the settlement of matters involving familiarity with law and court procedure.

**Delinquency and education.**—Education is one of our most effective means of preventing and treating delinquency. As the home loses its influence or refuses to perform its functions, to that extent the significance of the school increases. Although intelligence by itself does not make delinquency impossible, the wholesome training of the mind contributes to normal conduct in the same way that proper development of the body makes good adjustment easier than it is for one who suffers from ill health. A good school by its ordinary social influences upon the pupil becomes a powerful agent against delinquency.

On the other hand it is well to remember that some delinquency starts in the school. Just as the home can be the cause of mental conflict, so can the school. In some cases the school conditions seem to be the essential cause of a delinquent career. The teacher must keep in mind the fact that his personality is a constant influence upon the child, and that as a human being dealing with the child he has more profound social significance than merely as an instructor. The teacher, like other persons, can have complexes, emotional attitudes, prejudices, and unwholesome suggestion. As the teacher studies the child, so the pupil studies him. It is the business of the teacher to free himself from subjective attitudes, that he may be wise and just in dealing with each individual child.

It is not difficult for the teacher to get too concerned about the formal results of the classroom routine and too little concerned about the personal welfare of the individual pupil. Some trifling misconduct soon forgotten by the child may stir the hostility of a teacher to such an extent that he is forever

after incapable of being just; then his attitude becomes a persistent source of irritation for the pupil and an incentive toward bad conduct. Some teachers give little thought to the personality of the average child and no attention to his difficulties of social adjustment unless his conduct is such as to attract notice by making trouble in the schoolroom. Therefore character difficulties and personality problems slip through the school and education does next to nothing to protect these individuals from delinquency. Emphasis upon classroom routine and a mechanical conception of discipline, obtained from training plus vanity or a desire to advertise efficiency of control, makes some teachers unable to handle for social welfare the opportunities their schools provide.

## CHAPTER II

### CRIME AND PENAL REFORM

**Education and crime.**—Education, because it attempts to minister to social welfare, can not be indifferent to the human failures of our present-day social life. Those individuals that have not succeeded in maintaining normal standards or that have been unable to cope with the ordeals of modern life finally gravitate to our various institutions for the sick, poor, defective, insane, and criminal. Since education is our most effective means for reducing the number of those who socially fail and require public assistance or oversight, light is thrown upon the actual work of our educational system by a study of the individuals who compose our delinquent class. No group of *socialpaths*, or persons suffering from social maladjustment, can be studied with more profit to the educator than the criminals, since crime itself is so largely a mirror of unwholesome social conditions, low standards of general intelligence or deficiency in social good will.

**The meaning of crime.**—The legal definition of crime is not difficult. The gist of legal statements concerning the nature of crime is well expressed by the following: “Crime is a violation or neglect of legal duty of so much public importance that the law, either common or statute, takes notice of and presses it.”<sup>1</sup>

The social meaning of crime presents a much more difficult problem than its legal definition. No social phenomenon has been so variously interpreted as has crime; and nothing has

<sup>1</sup> May, Criminal Law, p. 1.

brought about so much discussion in recent years as the question: What is the nature of crime? As the result of the study which crime is now receiving, it is becoming evident that our attention must turn from the definition of crime to the meaning of the criminal who commits the crime. In other words our problem is one of flesh and blood and not an abstraction which demands the working out of a correct formula. The criminal is a social failure. He is a member of a group who has gotten in trouble because he has acted contrary to its legal code of behavior and in following his own purpose has collided with what is supposed to be the general interest of the group. By his independent conduct and unwillingness to coöperate for the general social good he has struck at the unity of the group. Unless the group can restrain individual impulses, it comes to an end. The demand for law and order is therefore invoked by the very existence of a social group.

The criminal has for some reason followed his own impulses and acted contrary to the authorized social behavior. Thus he has become an outlaw, and even in primitive society it was discovered that his offense required punishment. In the beginning vengeance for wrongs suffered was the common practice. Certain offenses, however, were against the welfare of all, and for the general safety of the group it was necessary to inflict speedy punishment. For example, the breaking of a taboo, even though the offense was innocently or accidentally committed, would be followed by death or by expulsion from the group, which in most cases meant sooner or later death. History reveals that the instinctive desire for revenge and retaliation when one felt himself hurt by conduct of some other member of the group was checked and at length suppressed for the general peace and instead of the private infliction of punishment the organized group or state took over the treatment of the offender.

The present-day criminal, like his primitive predecessor, is an offender who has been unable or has refused to conform



to the code of behavior that is established by law. The treatment he receives is largely the same that the primitive man had meted out to him. The difference consists in the greater humanitarian attitude people in general take toward his offense, and a slight but growing effort by those who administer justice to treat him in such a way as to bring him finally into accord with the social demands so that he will willingly conform to the general good.

It is only when the question why the individual offender has gone wrong and got himself into social difficulty is studied as a means of discovering how best he can be brought into wholesome relationships with his fellows that the baffling character of the problem of crime shows itself. It is just at this point that the science of conduct is slowly making its influence felt. As psychology and sociology more clearly reveal the difficulties of social adjustment, an increasing body of information is developing which makes possible the understanding of the criminal. This new material is the basis of our most modern and encouraging treatment of the criminal. It presents an interpretation of criminal conduct hard to harmonize with the primitive theory of punishment. The new attitude is best appreciated by thinking of the adult criminal in the same way one is accustomed to think of the juvenile delinquent. The conduct of the criminal is literally juvenile in a large proportion of cases, for the individual goes forward to satisfy his desires with a childlike directness, or by the use of methods that are no longer tolerated in well-disciplined and mature society. Not only is the criminal like a juvenile in his difficulties of social adaptation; he is often childlike in the motives to which he responds and the processes by which he attempts to satisfy his desires.

As soon as one thinks of crime as faulty social adjustment it becomes evident that it is an expression of failure and requires in the case of each individual criminal as clear an insight as is possible into all the influences and circumstances

that explain his conduct. It is equally clear that any attempt to classify men on the basis of the crimes they have committed, so as to mete out to each of them the same penalty for the same crime, accomplishes little, since the reasons for the committing of an identical crime by a number of different persons vary so much in each case.

**Causes of crime.**—The only satisfactory method of understanding crime is to study the individual offender and discover the particular reason for his unsocial behavior. The moment we do this we find that our task really means hunting out the individual difficulties of wholesome social adjustment for a group of persons who have little in common except the fact that they are in trouble before the law.

Suppose we assume that we are diagnosing the social difficulties that lead to theft. Although the individual's bad behavior seldom can be accounted for by one isolated condition, the chief causes that have operated upon our collection of thieves form a miscellaneous group. For example, one individual is mentally deficient; another is a confirmed alcoholic and has lost his original power of self-control; another has persistent kleptomaniacal impulses; another has paresis, a mental disease resulting from syphilitic infection; another suffers from poverty, while the difficulty with another seems to be his misfortune in the associates he happened to tie up with. The various causes run through the entire gamut of influences that practically determine behavior. Some are physical, some are mental, and some essentially social. Some, like adolescent instability, are temporary; while others, like feeble-mindedness, are incurable. As it is with our thieves, so it would be with any other group of criminals we might select. Although all might be guilty of the same offense, the reasons for their conduct would differ greatly. In most cases we would see as a result of our diagnosis that the criminal falls into a lower level of behavior and responds to impulses that are more primitive and less prudential than those found in the

well-behaved citizen. Inhibitions are weak and impulses allowed to express themselves that well-matured personalities would either curb or not feel.

If we included the murderer in our investigation we should find the same thing true of him, only to our surprise we should frequently discover that his heinous deed issued forth from a combination of circumstances that would not be likely to happen again. Although he is guilty of the extreme type of crime, we should feel certain in many cases that our murderer under ordinary circumstances would conduct himself with average propriety and friendliness. On the other hand we should be equally sure of other murderers that no matter what might be done for them they would remain to the end a menace because of homicidal tendencies.

Our investigation would convince us that no treatment of the criminal that considers him merely as a type can succeed. The typical criminal fades away and in his place we have the individual offender who is guilty of social maladjustment of such a character as to bring him under penalty of the law. Our problem of crime reduces to the same problem of social maladjustment which we considered under delinquency. Indeed we find that our adult criminal is usually one who has graduated from the state of delinquency and who was unsatisfactorily handled when his maladjustments first brought him into social difficulty. The delinquent has merely become older in years, perhaps more cunning as a result of experience, perhaps just as childlike, because of inability to mature, as when he first became a juvenile delinquent.

Recent developments of science, especially in physiology and psychology, force us to consider the dynamic elements that are producing in any individual the kind of conduct that is to be classified as crime. Our task is the understanding of social maladjustment. Milder forms of bad adjustment receive nothing else than our ordinary criticism. When, however, the activities are of such a sort as to make a serious prob-

lem because they are at variance with existing law, we have crime. Thus crime in the eyes of the modern scientist becomes bad adjustment of the kind that law attempts to prohibit.

We are forced to explain criminal conduct as we explain any other conduct. The criminal personality is a product of heredity and social influences just as any other human being is. Every step of progress we make in getting at the motives that shape conduct helps us to understand the criminal better, since we see each individual in the serious difficulties that naturally arise as he is placed in social situations that test his ability to make good adjustments. No individual succeeds perfectly in meeting his trials. The criminal fails most seriously either because of inherent weaknesses or conditions that have been brought about by his social development. Society can not tolerate certain forms of bad adjustment and it is these that the law bans, and the doing of which constitutes crime.

**Motives for punishment.**—The only treatment of the criminal that can square itself with science must be based upon a diagnosis of the causes that have brought about the bad adjustment of the individual offender. We find, however, that the orthodox treatment of crime rests upon a traditional confidence in punishment as a deterrent of bad conduct. Just as some parents assume that the whipping of children will make them love the right and abhor the wrong, in like manner society has tried to solve the problem of crime by punishing the offender and threatening with similar treatment those who are impelled toward crime.

Punishment and the fear of punishment have been looked upon as the most successful means of keeping people from committing crime. Experience shows that this confidence of society has been misplaced. The belief in the efficacy of punishment persists in spite of evidence to the contrary, on account of the emotional attitude that most people take toward the problem. Even if punishment has not prevented crime it has afforded the multitude an emotional satisfaction of the

desire for vengeance that has had so large a part in the make-up of human nature in the past. In savage society we have the best illustrations of the primitive character of vengeance and of social attitudes that have no real understanding of the causes of social offenses. The accidental offender is frequently punished as certainly and as harshly as he who consciously breaks the tribal regulations or willfully violates a tribal taboo.

This emotional response which stresses the use of fear as a means of decreasing crime derives some of its vitality from the fact that the behavior of the criminal is the same sort of thing that would come about if the individual who feels so strongly the desire for vengeance should respond to his own most primitive impulses. The untamed impulses that arise under appropriate stimulation and impel one toward unsocial adjustments representing crime or a minor form of unwholesome social conduct have to be checked by each of us when they develop strength. Because of this it is natural that we have strong emotional attitudes toward those who express impulses that we hold in check, partly because having strong emotional hostility to the kind of conduct that we are holding in check helps us to meet our own problems of control, and partly because we sense that if we and others should deal lightly with such offenses society would lose the advantage that comes from intensifying the strength of public opinion against behavior that threatens social welfare. It is also true that to the extent that we hold the criminal wholly responsible for his bad behavior, we relieve ourselves of such social responsibility as we share with others for allowing or producing conditions that tend toward crime. This is the idea of those who tell us that legal punishment of the criminal to-day is a psychological process by which society loads its criminal impulses upon a substitute.

Thus society estimates its righteousness by its emotional treatment of the criminal; and by its vengeance upon him who



has happened to express its own primitive and undisciplined impulses it protects itself from its own inherent temptations. In this society acts like the angry man who strengthens his powers emotionally by his refusal to deal with the cause of his anger rationally without intense feeling, but who heaps upon someone else blame which a calm discussion would be likely to show that he should himself accept. It is man's love of vengeance, his impulses toward cruelty, his fear of encouraging his own primitive reactions, that continue a widespread confidence in punishment as a deterrent of crime in spite of its obvious failure as revealed by experience.

The influence of fear upon man's conduct can not be denied. The fact that man fears punishment does not, however, demonstrate that punishment can serve as a general deterrent of harmful conduct. Just as children lack the knowledge necessary to give them fear of certain kinds of dangerous experience so there are those who are deficient in the imagination required to realize the risk of bad behavior in such a way as to make the fear of punishment influence their conduct. Moreover, a considerable number of our criminals are led into their bad social adjustment for reasons that would operate in any case. For example, the individual suffering with paranoia may be made more cunning in his murderous attempts on account of his knowledge of the social risk he runs, but fear will be unable to check his scheming because he is driven by a diseased mind. The willingness to take risk, the impulse to gamble, also makes fear of punishment for many a most remote influence, while the allurements of the satisfaction that criminal conduct promises looks near and inviting. The experience of the criminal seems to demonstrate that those who are particularly rational in their motives are the ones who can be most seriously injured and made vindictive toward society by severe punishment. Even though the hardened criminal fears punishment and tries to escape it, his past behavior, solidified into habits, and his general lack of

social stability move him inexorably toward a continuation of crime. Our criminal procedure opens such a multitude of loopholes, even when the criminal is detected, that his optimism makes him feel that he can escape the clutches of the law. He believes that his chances of eluding punishment are good enough to make his deed seem a small risk.

**Social protection.**—Society has a right to protect itself against those who would prey upon it. If severe punishment afforded security against the criminal that would be complete justification for such a program. The conscious purpose of our criminal courts is the protection of society from those who menace the general good. Our criminal law assumes that punishment in proportion to the seriousness of the crime committed is the most effective means for giving us social security against those who have criminal propensities.

The means of social protection from those who for various reasons are unsocial in their behavior is a concrete problem to be solved only by actual experience in dealing with offenders. The results of our present treatment of the criminal, based upon the traditional attitude toward crime, afford little confidence in our prisons and punishments as a means of decreasing crime. We have criminals not a few who repeatedly take a severe dose of prison punishment but are not led on that account to a satisfactory social adjustment. It would be unfair, however, to deny that some do respond to our present treatment and to that extent society is justified in its punishment of the criminal, for its chief object must always be its own protection.

**The reform of the criminal.**—The idea that society should reform the criminal has been widely accepted only in recent years. It represents a new attitude entirely at variance with the old primitive idea of vengeance, and assumes the criminal to be one who still has potential social values. It affirms that society protects itself best when it reforms the criminal. It is hard to make the program of reformation effective when

society deals with the offender through a legal system which has grown up so largely in the atmosphere of vengeance. The impersonal attitude of the law toward the criminal in spite of recent advances in court procedure, and the difficulty of providing a re-education of personality that will issue in new social attitudes when the criminal is released from prison, place reform close to the borderline of the unattainable. So far as reforming the criminal is concerned, there are few familiar with the actual results of our present policy with reference to the criminal who take exception to Ex-Governor Foss' statement before the American Prison Association: "Let me add in all seriousness that the managers of my own shops and factories make a more efficient and intelligent sorting and reclamation of scrap metal, than the laws have generally made of the men and women that have been thrown upon the scrap heap of our jails and prisons."<sup>2</sup>

Although experience and science may develop a better technique for the reforming of the criminal, it is doubtful whether the most perfect system dealing with offenders who have become habitual criminals will be highly gratifying in its success. To reform the criminal, changes must be made in the causes that operated to produce his unsocial behavior. This in actual practice means that society must change so as to make its life more wholesome and its evil influences less persuasive. The offender must rid himself of vicious and unsocial habits, a task that becomes the more difficult, the longer he has gone on in his career and the more powerful the influences that have operated upon him to make him what he is. The hope of reforming the criminal rests upon the possibility of getting him early in his expression of unadjusted conduct. In other words, stress must be placed upon the beginning of delinquency, for in the majority of cases it is at this point only that any large measure of reform can be produced.

<sup>2</sup> Page, *The Criminal—Why is He, and What We do to Him*, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 6, p. 666.

Any individual would find it hard to change his personality after he has become fully matured. The criminal can not be expected to find it easier than the more stable members of society. Discovering the offender and giving him treatment that will prevent his going on into crime offers us the most promising program for success. Such a program requires emphasis upon the diagnosis of causes of unsocial conduct. Investigations of individual offenders have plainly revealed that in a multitude of cases reform can never be made effective, and the individual requires the custodial care of the state, not because he deserves punishment but because he is the victim of forces that operate upon him to such a degree as to make his reformation impossible; in other cases it is equally clear that a very little assistance is needed to make possible the necessary habit adjustments that will enable the individual who has started on his travel toward crime to return quickly to the well-beaten pathway of wholesome adjustment.

**Kinds of punishments.**—Society has made use of various methods of inflicting pain in its use of punishment to prevent crime. The chief means of punishment that have been used by various peoples at different times have been: exiling from the group, which has often meant death because the individual could not exist without the protection of his tribe; social degradation, physical torture, and the confiscation of property or some kind of fine, imprisonment or death. Often several forms of punishment are combined, as, for example, branding or mutilation brought both physical torture and social degradation. One of the favorite methods of punishment has been the death penalty. This has been carried out in all sorts of ways, such as burning, breaking at the wheel, drowning, boiling in oil, burying alive. Although in some savage tribes we find humane ways of dealing with crime and little use of the death penalty, as a general rule society has decreased the kinds and the use made of the death penalty. In the Middle Ages great cruelty was shown in its use; not only were executions



made public exhibitions, in which the causing of suffering became a fine art and inventions of various sorts were used with fiendish skill, but also the coarseness of the age appeared in the obscenity of the appeal to passion that frequently accompanied the public torture.

The development of capital punishment in England was contrary to the general tendency. In the early part of the fifteenth century there were only seventeen capital offenses; by 1820 these had increased to two hundred. From 1688 they steadily increased, due, so we are told, to the "unhappy facility afforded to legislation by Parliamentary government."<sup>3</sup> Members of Parliament were constantly creating new laws that carried with them the penalty of capital punishment. At times, as one would expect, the law was used as a means of expressing personal vengeance or effecting private exploitation. We read, for example, of the incident of a committee chairman and his clerk drawing up an enclosure act to be passed by Parliament, which had as one of its clauses the infliction of capital punishment upon anyone who might in any way obstruct the carrying out of the law.<sup>4</sup>

Although the jury often refused to find prisoners guilty of the lesser crimes' punishment was meted out in great quantity and for offenses that shock the modern reader. For instance, "A *Times* paragraph—18th January, 1801—tells how a certain Andrew Branning, a luckless urchin aged only thirteen, had broken into a house and carried off a spoon. Others were with him, but they ran away, and only he was captured and brought to trial. His story ended in two words, which were short and customary: Guilty—Death."<sup>5</sup> In 1814 three boys, eight, nine and eleven years of age, were sentenced to death for stealing a pair of shoes.

Rome made frequent use of banishment as a form of pun-

<sup>3</sup> Ives, *History of Penal Methods*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Hammond, *The Village Laborer*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



ishment. The individual was prohibited from entering a certain section, generally the city of Rome, or forbidden to go outside of a specified territory to which he had been sent.

After the discovery of America, European nations transported convicts to the colonies. Portugal in the sixteenth century began sending its criminals to Brazil. From about 1618 the sending of convicts to America from England became customary.<sup>6</sup> After the Revolutionary War the American colonies were closed to England as a dumping ground for convicts, and eventually penal colonies were established in Australia and Van Dieman's Land. This transportation policy continued until 1867 and 134,308 persons were sent to Australia from England during this period; the policy was finally given up on account of the persistent hostility toward it expressed by the Australian colonies. The respectable part of the population became increasingly sensitive to the bringing of convicts into their midst. They had no confidence that the imprisonment experience would bring about reformation of the criminal. The working classes were opposed to the coming of convicts because they dreaded cheap labor and its competition and the free immigrants did not wish to be associated with the convicts. Descriptions of life in some of the penal colonies of Australia reveal conditions that are almost nauseating. For example, regarding Port Macquarie: "The convicts were flogged again and again with the heaviest sort of whips, and were also punished by being compelled to sleep on wet rocks in damp clothes and fetters; occasionally some of them drowned themselves."<sup>7</sup> At Port Arthur were criminal lunatics. The career of one of them, a certain Mooney, who had been transported at the age of about thirteen for stealing a hare, portrays the cruel régime. "He had become, in time, a raging, desperate convict; he had been flogged, he had been in a mutiny, he had been a bushranger, and a whole list of

<sup>6</sup> Ives, *History of Penal Methods*, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

things. 'And where is he now?' the visitor asked. 'Oh,' said the genial official, with a calm self-satisfaction (so it seemed to the questioner) at the excellence of the system which he administered, 'he's all right now; we've got him all right now. He's a lunatic in Port Arthur *now*.' . . . I was eager . . . to see my poacher of thirteen years. The warder drew aside a peep-hole in the barred door, and I saw a grizzled, gaunt, and half-naked old man coiled up in a corner. The peculiar wild-beast smell which belongs to some forms of furious madness exhaled from the cell. The gibbering animal within turned, and his malignant eyes met mine. 'Take care,' said the gaoler; 'he has a habit of sticking his finger through the peep-hole to try and poke someone's eyes out.' I drew back, and a nail-bitten hairy finger like the toe of an ape was thrust with rapid and simian neatness through the aperture. 'This is how he amuses himself,' said the good warder, forcing to the iron slot; 'he had best be dead, I'm thinking.' ''<sup>8</sup>

We are told that Norfolk Island was the worst penal colony of them all. Here there were frequent outbreaks in which the convicts rose in rebellion, only to be put down by force and terribly punished. 'In 1834, after one of these outbreaks, the condemned cells were visited by Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Ullathorne. 'And now,' he writes, 'I have to record the most heart-breaking scene that I ever witnessed. The prison was in the form of a square, on one side of which stood a row of low cells covered with a roof of shingles. The turnkey unlocked the first door and said, 'Stand aside, sir.' Then came forth a yellow exhalation, the product of the bodies of the men confined therein. The exhalation cleared off, and I entered and found five men chained to a traversing bar. I spoke to them from my heart, and after preparing them and obtaining their names, I announced to them who were reprieved from death, and which of them were to die after five days had passed. I thus went from cell to cell

<sup>8</sup> Ives, *History of Penal Methods*, p. 164.

until I had seen them all. It is a literal fact that each man who learned his reprieve wept bitterly, and that each man who heard of his condemnation to death went down on his knees with dry eyes and thanked God.”<sup>9</sup>

Here also was cruelty most fiendish in its ingenuity. “They employed gags, bridles or head-stalls, and a veritable engine of torture known as the Stretcher, which has been described as an iron frame some six feet by three, not unlike a bedstead, the sides being kept in position by round iron bars twelve inches apart. Upon this frame the victim was fastened, the head extending over the edge and without support. One man is said to have been placed upon the instrument in a dark cell and left in this fashion for the space of twelve hours; he was found to be dead when ultimately they came to him. Another mediæval method was to suspend chained prisoners by one hand; and one of the most dreaded penalties sometimes resorted to, was to sentence a man to work—often with unhealed wounds from quite recent flogging—in the Cayenne pepper mill, the fine stinging dust from which was especially maddening.”<sup>10</sup>

**The American prison.**—The prison in the sense of a place where one is detained against his will goes back perhaps even to the days of cannibalism, when the victim was put into his cage or stockade to wait the day of his death. All through history we come across references to a place of confinement where political and religious offenders are held in custody. The prison in the modern sense of a place where prisoners are held as a punishment is a comparatively recent thing. Although at the beginning of the eighteenth century the prison was generally used only as a place of confinement for political and religious offenders and debtors, by the middle of the next century imprisonment had become the common method of punishment of criminals. This development of the penal

<sup>9</sup> Ives, *History of Penal Methods*, pp. 164-65.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

system occurred both in Europe and America. In America during the colonial period jails or prisons were used for the safekeeping of those who were accused of crime and were waiting for their trial, and for the confinement of religious and political offenders, and debtors. Very seldom were these jails or prisons used to confine criminals. The colonies also had workhouses for the restraint of vagrants and paupers.

The Quakers of West Jersey and Pennsylvania conceived the idea of combining the prison and the workhouse as an institution for criminals. They replaced corporal punishment with imprisonment and began the practice of requiring hard labor of those serving sentence. In the next century they added cellular separation to their program and thus inaugurated the modern penal system.<sup>11</sup> To the Quakers of Pennsylvania we owe the step in the modern prison program, known as the "Pennsylvania System" of prison discipline. Conditions were so bad in provincial jails in Philadelphia that just before the beginning of the Revolutionary War some of the inmates had actually starved to death. Richard Wistar, a member of the Society of Friends, with others became concerned about the misery of those confined in the jails, and in 1776 they organized the Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners. After the Peace of 1783 some prominent citizens of the city, including Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush, succeeded in humanizing the criminal code then in force by reducing the number of capital crimes and substituting for the death penalty for some of the less serious felonies continuous hard labor, "publicly and disgracefully imposed." The new law attracted increasing attention to the condition of those confined in the jails on High and Walnut Streets, and from this came a society known as the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisoners.

<sup>11</sup> Barnes, *History of the Penal, Reformatory and Correctional Institutions of New Jersey*, pp. 32-35, 41-42, 86-93, 432-33.

European influences, especially those resulting from the work of John Howard in England, and the writings of Jeremy Bentham, Beccaria and Montesquieu, contributed to the development of a more humane way of dealing with prisoners for all crimes except murder in the first degree, and replaced all forms of corporal punishment with fines or imprisonment. Later the Walnut Street Jail was made into a state prison and an addition was built for the purpose of trying out what became known as the "Pennsylvania System" of prison discipline. This was a scheme of confining the worst types of criminals in separate cells. Overcrowding and difficulties of administration made the new policy less successful than had been expected. Later the state erected the Western and Eastern State Penitentiaries, and by a law passed in 1829 solitary confinement at hard labor became the legal program of the state penal system.

In dealing with its criminals New York state was passing through much the same experience that had been Pennsylvania's; it was natural therefore that the Pennsylvania program should have influenced the policy of this neighbor state. In 1816 a law was passed in New York state, providing for a new state prison at Auburn. Three years later the legislature decided that certain classes of prisoners should be placed in solitary confinement, and in 1821 the prison inspectors were directed by law to select a number of the oldest and most heinous offenders and put them in solitary confinement in order to discover the advantages of this policy. On Christmas Day eighty convicts were used for the trying out of this experiment. The program was continued for two years and then was given up because, as administered at Auburn, it had proven a complete failure and had increased illness and insanity among the convicts who had been placed in solitary confinement.

As the result of this experiment a new policy was developed which became known as the "Auburn System" in rivalry



with the "Pennsylvania System." The new program permitted the prisoners to work in groups in the shops and yards during the day, after which they were locked singly in separate cells for the night. Discipline was severe and silence was maintained among the prisoners, even during their work. With the beginning of this new Auburn System there followed an intense competition between it and the Pennsylvania System, the advocates of each attempting to make their system the dominant program of American penology. The Auburn System was urged with great effectiveness by Louis Dwight of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, and it was in large measure the success of his advocacy that made the Auburn System triumphant in this country; in Europe the Pennsylvania System was the more widely adopted.

The so-called Irish System was introduced about 1865 through the efforts of Frank Sanborn and others interested in a more humane program of prison management, and this reform appeared in the methods of the Elmira Reformatory Society, which developed its system at Elmira, New York, under the administration of J. R. Brockway. The same ideas of prison management were carried out at the Massachusetts Reformatory for Men at Concord, and the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Sherborn. The Elmira Reformatory, opened in 1876, placed emphasis upon education as a means of reformation. Its program also included productive labor and the "mark system" of designating the class to which the prisoner belonged in his adjustment to prison management. This advance led to the displacement of both the Auburn and the Pennsylvania Systems. The Elmira Reformatory was particularly planned for young adults who were guilty of a first offense and who gave promise of possible reformation. The reforms that were associated with the Elmira institution deeply influenced the penal program in this country and were so widely copied by state prisons that

at present there is little distinction between them and reformatories.

We still have the county jail which has continued since early colonial days with practically no change. The character of these institutions varies greatly, and the organization and administration differ according to the state in which they are. These county jails and workhouses are usually our most backward penal institutions, and the ones most susceptible to political influence. In many of our states the movement toward their abolition or at least their being made a part of a general state penal administration goes forward and is one of our most desirable penal reforms.

In addition to the county jails we have municipal prisons. These are frequently called Houses of Correction or Workhouses, though the latter are not in any way related to the early colonial institutions of the same name. Since 1891 we have also had Federal prisons for those convicted of crimes against Federal law. Previously, such prisoners were committed to state or county institutions with the approval of the state or county concerned, and were treated in the same way as the other inmates of these prisons. There are also army and navy prisons maintained for those convicted of offenses committed during army or navy service.

## RECENT ADVANCES IN AMERICAN PENOLOGY

### Probation

Probation began legally in Massachusetts in 1878 when a law was passed providing for a paid probation officer in the courts of Boston. Before this there had been much volunteer work carried on in connection with the courts. This first probation law permitted the courts to use probation instead of commitment. Similar laws were passed in many of the eastern states and now the system is to be found to some extent in every state. The American system of proba-

tion has been copied also in Canada, England and several of the European countries.

The probation system is based upon the principle of social and individual diagnosis and treatment of offenders. Courts have agents or assistants known as "probation officers" who make careful investigations and bring to the court information regarding the character, past behavior, home and social conditions, and all other important facts that can be obtained that will help the judge in his sentencing of the offender. If the court gives a suspended or deferred sentence, the probation officer is responsible for the carrying out of the requirements imposed by the court. Probation has been used mostly and with greatest success in the courts dealing with children and family problems. In the adult criminal courts the probation officer has usually made his investigations after the trial of the criminal, but in the superior courts of Massachusetts it is becoming the practice to permit the probation officer to start an investigation while the defendant is in jail awaiting trial or out on bail. This makes possible the getting of information which the district attorney and the court can have before and at the time of trial. The vogue of probation has come about, not from sentimental motives, but as a result of a clearer understanding of the problem of crime and the concrete experience of the value of probation as a means of reforming the criminal or preventing crime. "From carefully compared statistics of the New York State Probation Commission, we learn that during the 14 years ending with 1921 over 100,000 adults were discharged from probation as successful, 77% of the total whose probation terminated during that period."<sup>12</sup>

The test to determine whether or not a criminal is to be placed on parole should not be a matter of mere age, but rather the promise that the probation method will prove a success. The probation system is as applicable to adult of-

<sup>12</sup> Probation, Bulletin No. 6, The National Society of Penal Information.

fenders as to juveniles, and the tendency to extend its use in the adult criminal court represents progress in understanding the value of probation as a means of eliminating crime. There is no reason why probation should be limited to first offenders, since the bare fact that more than one crime has been committed gives no basis for judging the possibilities of reform, nor is it reasonable to make the nature of the offense the deciding factor in the question of the use of probation. There is evidence that probation has been used in some states with the greatest success for those very offenses which the law in other states does not permit the judge to deal with by probation.<sup>13</sup>

### Parole

By parole is meant the releasing of a prisoner, under supervision, before he has completed his sentence. Parole is sometimes erroneously thought of as probation. The difference is that parole is not carried out until a part of the sentence has been served by the prisoner, and if the conditions of the parole are not followed the prisoner can be returned by the Parole Board to the institution to serve the rest of his term of imprisonment. The purpose of the parole is to test the prisoner in a preliminary way before he is permanently released. The institutional behavior of the prisoner by itself does not guarantee his wholesome social adjustment when he is on his own responsibility; it is this that the parole tests.

In actual experience the parole system is often used to the detriment both of society and of the individual concerned; for example, we have prisoners paroled soon after being sentenced on the understanding that they will at once go to some other city or state. Thus the parole system is prostituted for the purpose of quickly getting rid of criminals in

<sup>13</sup> Hoffman, C. W., Extension of Probation, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Feb., 1922, p. 571.

a way that is known as "floating." It is obvious that it is not even a financial advantage to do this since the municipality ridding itself at least temporarily of some of its minor criminals, vagrants, and such offenders is likely also to receive from other cities as many as it sends away.

The administration of parole is complicated by the necessity of finding for most paroled offenders some occupation that will give them a fair start. Without means of self-support, the former criminal career is oftentimes most inviting. The getting of work is in itself no small task. Not only are employers and workers prejudiced against those who have served time, but the nature of the offense may make it inexpedient for the convict to return to the kind of work for which he is most fitted; as, for example, one serving a sentence for embezzlement would be a hard man to place in a banking establishment, even though his previous training might make him most efficient in this kind of employment. As one would expect, prisoners on parole often turn from one occupation to another quickly, perhaps some of them anxious only to get references that can be carried from one employment to another more desirable.

So long as we have the present penal system, parole must be one of its indispensable factors, but it is unfair to expect that the parole experience can undo unwholesome habits, neutralize bitterness, make up for the personality deterioration which may have resulted during the experience of imprisonment.

### Labor

The idea of making prisoners work originated as a means of punishment. Often it was entirely punitive, consisting even of such useless labor as the treadmill, turning a crank, or breaking stone. Later, prisoners' labor was made use of as a producer of wealth. We have four different forms of prison labor.



Convicts may be leased to private individuals. When the labor of the convicts is sold to those outside the prison, this is called the peonage system. Not only do the contractors use these prisoners as cheap labor without any thought of their welfare or reformation, but there is even temptation for the officers of the law to arrest and confine vagrants and other persons for petty offenses in order to obtain an abundant supply of this cheap labor. In the contract system the prisoners do their work within the institution, and their maintenance and discipline are kept under the control of the prison administration. Although not so prolific in evil this system places the prisoner under two authorities, only one of which may have any desire for his good. The piece price system gives a private individual control over the sale of the products of prison labor, while the conditions of employment, discipline and maintenance continue in the hands of the prison authorities. Any system that divides the responsibility for the prisoner is necessarily bad. Any system that brings the convict into competition with outside free labor leads to union labor hostility and political and social complications. The system that provides for the making of products which can be used by the various institutions of the state avoids these evils; in the same way prison labor is occasionally turned to the construction of public roads or of public buildings under state authority. There is a decided advantage in the coöperation of the states in the use of prison-made products. This scheme is known as the *states' use plan*. For example, if New Jersey happens to be making automobile license plates, without the expenditure of additional funds in equipment it would be possible to manufacture these plates also for Maryland and Delaware, thus saving the loss caused by duplicating products and leaving those states free to manufacture something else in their prisons.

Prison labor is a vexing problem, so many interests are involved. We have the factor of efficient administration, the

difficulty of competition with free labor outside the institution, and the desire to make the institution the least possible financial burden to the state. Then, the prisoners' health and contentment must be kept in mind, and if reformation is to be made a serious part of the incarceration program, trades must be taught that will prepare many of the prisoners, who have entered the institution without industrial training, to earn an honest living when they leave its walls. These various motives are frequently in conflict in actual prison management. Suppose a state manufactures shoes in its prisons and the nearest shoe shop is five hundred miles outside the state; such an industrial program for prisoners can not be made a very effective preparation for permanent, wholesome citizenship when the prisons parole their inmates and require them to stay within the state for one year.

Another problem involves the question whether the prisoners should receive wage payments. Such compensation tends to improve prison discipline and build up a feeling of self-respect in the convicts; it also makes possible the support of their families while they remain in the custody of the state. It is obviously a comedy of judicial procedure when a criminal is sent to jail for non-support of his family, and the family is left with less income than it had before his sentence.

### **Vocational Training**

The requiring of work for prisoners, even if reasonable wages are paid, can not complete an efficient industrial prison program. Society owes to each inmate of its penal institutions a solemn obligation to furnish vocational guidance, and if possible vocational preparation for a successful life on the outside. The offender who comes out of jail or prison ill-fitted to earn his living at some useful employment is not likely long to abstain from crime. The original cause of a large proportion of our prisoners' getting

into trouble with the law has been their lack of occupation, due to inadequate training for life. Confinement in an institution does not in itself change these facts, and even if the prisoner vows that he will turn from his earlier career he finds it next to impossible to carry out his intention if the doors into industrial self-support do not open when once again he is in the everyday world. Complete vocational preparation may be too expensive to be practical in our prisons, but there certainly can be a large choice of occupations which will furnish for most of the inmates a congenial type of employment. The value of this work has been well attested by actual experience, until it is evident that society commits wrong against the criminal when it denies him an opportunity to prepare for an occupation which has practical value for the earning of a living on the outside.

### Education

One of the beneficial changes that mark modern penology is the introduction of educational work in our prisons. This educational program includes, in addition to ordinary school work, lectures, library facilities, recreation and entertainments. The first efforts in this direction came from the attempts to teach prisoners to read the Bibles and tracts that were distributed among them by religious visitors interested in their welfare. This undertaking met with resistance from some of the prison officials. For instance, the warden of Auburn Prison in 1824 successfully blocked an attempt to teach the young convicts to read and write because he believed that the educated convict was more dangerous to society than the illiterate.

By the middle of the nineteenth century elementary work in reading, writing and arithmetic was beginning to be rather common in prisons. Classes were held at night and the prisoners were not allowed to receive instruction in groups; we

therefore have a picture of the chaplain in the dimly lighted corridor teaching the convict behind the bars, who was trying to do his work by the light of a lantern tied to the grating of the cell door.

The appointment of two teachers of English for each of the New York state prisons was provided for by the legislature of that state in 1847 and it was further determined that lessons in English should be given for an hour and a half every evening except Sunday. Some other states followed this lead, but for the most part the prisoners were not allowed to meet in groups.

Classes were not permitted in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania until 1913. The Elmira movement stressed education. The school work does not yet receive the attention that its socializing value deserves; the work in shops frequently has right of way. The teachers are inadequately paid and there is a disposition to assign convicts as instructors under the supervision of the head teacher. In most state prisons the curriculum is confined to reading and writing. Very few institutions give courses in any of the social sciences other than civics, although such instruction would be most useful in building up wholesome attitudes toward social life in a portion of the inmates.

Our jails and workhouses are practically without any formal educational work; with the exception of these institutions, most of the prisons and reformatories have libraries, usually in charge of the chaplains. Investigations have proven, as one might suppose, that these libraries are most carelessly selected, containing unreadable and trashy literature in great quantity. After studying catalogues of twenty-three prison libraries, Miss Curtis describes the situation as follows: "With few exceptions they are far below the grade of the average public library of the same size; the classes of history, biography and travel, which should be especially strong, are often filled with out-of-date and unreadable books.

It is surprising that detective stories figure largely in the fiction lists.''<sup>14</sup>

This investigation revealed also that many of these libraries contained books which appealed to sensual passion, and which would not be listed in public libraries. Institutions for juvenile delinquents have libraries inferior to those for adults.

The modern prison makes use of different sorts of entertainments: music, including orchestras, bands and choirs, plays, lectures and picture shows. Those in which the prisoners themselves take part are most useful. The conditions of the prisoners' environment, however, hamper the best use of these entertainments as means of building character.

### Self-Government

There have been several experiments in self-government for prisoners, and it is held by some experienced in prison management that self-government in one form or another is the best solution for prison discipline and a most valuable preparation for life on the outside. The George Junior Republic was founded at Freeville, New York, in 1895, by William George upon the principle of self-government. Thomas Mott Osborne was a director of this institution, and thoroughly convinced of the practicality of self-government.

In an address delivered before the National Prison Association in 1904, Mr. Osborne emphasized the point of view which he was to develop in his Mutual Welfare League, a system of self-government that he introduced at Auburn, later at Sing Sing, and afterwards at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Mutual Welfare League was organized in Auburn Prison in January, 1914, by Mr. Osborne. In the preceding year he had voluntarily served a week's sentence at Auburn and had come in contact with Jack Murphy, a prisoner then serving a life sentence. As a result of his conversation with Mr.

<sup>14</sup> Curtis, What the Convict Reads, *Survey*, Dec. 14, 1912, pp. 323-25.



Murphy, Osborne, then acting as Chairman of the New York State Commission for Prison Reform, obtained the promise of the warden of Auburn to start a self-governing organization of some sort. The prisoners were to have every opportunity to form their own type of government and they organized the Mutual Welfare League, which a year later Mr. Osborne, having become warden of Sing Sing, started in that institution. Later when he took charge of the naval prison at Portsmouth, he organized a third branch of the same society. It was also introduced at various other prisons. After a brief trial the experiment was given up in most places and now has been almost universally abandoned. There is some doubt, however, whether it has had a fair testing; it was opposed by most of the prison guards and officials, whose training naturally made them hostile to the new type of management; it also met suspicion from the prisoners who had been trained by a life career of crime to distrust any suggestion of social good will; in some places it was introduced without a proper understanding by the prisoners of what it meant. Experience clearly showed that as a mere method of administration or mechanism of control, Osborne's plan in other hands than his own accomplishes little. It is still to be proven, however, that when made an educational undertaking in the hands of sympathetic and competent leaders, it does not embody a most helpful preparation of our mentally normal prisoners for wholesome outside life. It is true that as the experiment worked out in many institutions it developed a bad type of prison politics, not unlike the municipal politics that have characterized our American cities. So long as our prisons contain such a percentage of those who are mentally deficient or psychopathic, a system of self-government which is difficult to maintain even in our universities will certainly not succeed.

The honor system has been in vogue for a long time. It is administered by the officials who reward prisoners for their

good behavior and loyalty. It has an element of self-government in that it is for the advantage of the whole institution that those prisoners trusted with responsibility or privileges turn out to be trustworthy. Its danger comes from its tendency to stimulate spying and deceit. The honor system in actual practice not uncommonly creates an atmosphere of general distrust and although it may make prison administration easier for the official, it does not in any way make the prison sentence a social advantage in the training of the prisoner. The personality of the warden, the kind of associates, and the material which the courts from time to time send to a prison have more to do with the character of the life in an institution than the form in which discipline is maintained. Even when self-government is carried on by the prisoners themselves, its limitations are exceedingly definite, since the state places upon the prison warden the responsibility of securing institutional discipline.

**The future of prisons.**—However well trained or socially-minded prison authorities may be, and whatever the type of government adopted, there are such inherent defects in prison life that an increasing number of students of the penal system are questioning whether incarceration does not represent a social policy that should be abandoned in dealing with criminals. As has already been pointed out, we see a growing tendency to substitute probation for imprisonment, especially in dealing with juveniles. It is only of late that science has been able to distinguish psychopathic variations in conduct, due to mental disorder which, although not in the form of serious mental disease, makes social adjustment difficult. The study of our prison population discloses that a large percentage of the inmates need guidance and perhaps custodial care on account of their psychopathic tendencies, but are not improved by any kind of punishment or by the routine of the ordinary prison confinement.

Although some criminals are helped by their prison sen-

tence, even to the extent of turning permanently from a criminal career, the general judgment seems to be that the penal system, so far as reforming the criminal is concerned, is largely a failure. Society is inadequately protected by a system that confines social offenders for a stated length of time, if at the end of that period they are turned back into society no better prepared for social adjustment than they were in the beginning of their sentence. If the present method of handling the criminal is to be frankly defended as a mere means of social protection, giving up any hope of reformation, then surely society would be best safeguarded by making all sentences for life. In the proportion that reformation, and particularly prevention of crime, is stressed there will be a growing skepticism as to the effectiveness of the penal system of today; it developed before the era of social science and rests upon an unscientific interpretation of human conduct. Much more humane than what preceded it, and greatly improved by modern methods and more conscientious administration, our penal system is nevertheless showing itself to be a faulty means of social protection and a doubtful way of reforming those who are guilty of criminal offenses.

**The death penalty.**—In the nineteenth century one of our most famous English students of criminal law, Mr. Justice Fitzjames Stephen, wrote: "I think it highly desirable that criminals should be hated and that the punishment inflicted on them should be so contrived as to give expression to that hatred."<sup>15</sup> Although this is a frank statement of a belief still found among some of those who administer law or who are in charge of penal institutions, it represents an attitude of mind increasingly difficult to maintain against the encroaching better knowledge that science brings concerning the problem of social adjustment.

The extreme expression of Stephen's attitude has been

<sup>15</sup> Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England* (1883), Vol. II, p. 82.

capital punishment, which has in recent years given us the idea of vengeance as a conscious motive and has stressed the need of taking from society those who menace its life and security; it has also been defended by its power to instill fear of punishment, which will keep individuals who meet with temptation from committing murder.

Those who actually know the character of the men who have been guilty of murder insist that as a class these men are not more lacking in the ability of adjusting themselves to society than are other criminals. Prison wardens constantly affirm that their best men are the ones who are serving life sentences for murder. If society is to rid itself of its most menacing offenders, it would be much more logical to put to death those who are incapable of being trained to good social adjustment rather than to emphasize the nature of the crime committed.

Murder, in most cases, comes about either because of unusual stress of circumstances, a situation which would be most unlikely to happen twice, or because of a mental defectiveness or perversion which makes the individual as socially dangerous as those who are considered legally insane. Murderers who fall into either of these two classes would seldom be influenced by knowledge of the death penalty paid by others for the crime of murder.

If capital punishment is to have any power of repressing murderous tendencies in the small group of those who might be influenced by fear of punishment, there must be great improvement in the American criminal procedure. The detection of murder in our country is getting exceedingly difficult, and only a small proportion of those who commit homicide are apprehended. The American detective has too often made use of the clumsy and dangerous third degree method of detection; and, partly in consequence of this, juries are suspicious of the evidence collected and presented by the police.

The part the newspaper plays in our more spectacular murder trials not only hampers justice, but often runs the risk of inciting crime to a far greater extent than executions protect society by the instilling of fear. The hanging of a notorious criminal, Kemmler, at Auburn Prison a few years ago was followed by twenty-four murders in New York, ten in New Jersey, and ten in Pittsburgh, all within thirty days of the execution. In 1877 ten men were hanged in Pennsylvania for engaging in a murderous conspiracy. In pointing out the wholesome effect of their execution, the *New York Herald* said, "We may be certain that the pitiless severity of the law will deter the most wicked from anything like the imitation of these crimes." Yet the very next night after this execution two of the witnesses at the trial of the men hanged were murdered; and before two weeks had passed, five of the prosecutors had gone to the same end. Toward the end of the year 1915, Police Lieutenant Becker and four gunmen who claimed to have been hirelings were electrocuted at Sing Sing for the murder of a New York gambler. During the early months of the next year there were five men at Sing Sing awaiting execution for murders committed under precisely similar circumstances a few weeks following the execution of these gunmen.<sup>16</sup>

Historically, we know that the common use of the death penalty as a means of decreasing crime proved most ineffective when it was widely used. There is no statistical evidence that the death penalty at present deters men from murder. The statistics regarding the rate of homicide in states that have and states that do not have capital punishment are at least inconclusive with reference to the value of capital punishment. The death penalty, like the prison sentence, rests upon an erroneous understanding of human conduct. It is clear that the mere possibility of a death penalty, in the light of the obvious uncertainty of conviction as evi-

<sup>16</sup> Death Penalty, p. 8, *National Society of Penal Information, Bulletin No. 5.*



denced by our record in murder trials, can not become an effective deterrent of murder.

Science is finding that a considerable proportion, at least, of those who are finally executed develop, during their incarceration, a prison psychosis which brings them to their execution essentially unsound mentally. Knowledge of this fact will add momentum to the movement against capital punishment. William A. White, one of our foremost psychiatrists, tells us that he doubts very much if anyone ever goes to his own execution sane.

**The scientific program.**—The one outstanding hopeful sign of progress in the administration of public correction of social offenders is the increasing emphasis that is being given to the mental hygiene elements of the problem. Attention is being turned away from vengeance and confinement to a program that rests upon diagnosis and treatment with therapy as its aim. Legislation is bringing into more intimate relationship our correctional institutions, our courts and departments having in hand the examination and care of those who are mentally deficient, those who suffer from mental disease or serious social defect. Provision is being made, especially in our more advanced courts, for the adequate examination and observation of offenders before the law. Already we have legislation which makes a scientific study of the criminal in certain cases mandatory on the courts. Notably progressive in this respect is the law which went into effect in Massachusetts in September, 1921; in its original form, before it was slightly changed by a later amendment, this law provided:

“Whenever a person is indicted by a grand jury for a capital offense or whenever a person, who is known to have been indicted for any other offense more than once or to have been previously convicted of a felony, is indicted by a grand jury or bound over for trial in the superior court, the clerk of the court in which the indictment is returned, or the clerk of the district court or the trial justice, as the case may be, shall

give notice to the department of mental diseases, and the department shall cause such person to be examined with a view to determine his mental condition and the existence of any mental disease or defect which would affect his criminal responsibility. The department shall file a report of its investigation with the clerk of the court in which the trial is to be held, and the report shall be accessible to the court, the district attorney and to the attorney for the accused, and shall be admissible as evidence of the mental condition of the accused." <sup>17</sup>

This law saves the state all the expenditure of time and money that would otherwise be required in the trial of those who should never be brought before the court; it puts the investigation of the personality of the defendant into the hands of unbiased experts who in the spirit of science make their findings and report them to the court; it is particularly helpful in its effect upon judges and district attorneys by its presentation in concrete form of the necessity of taking the psychological viewpoint in dealing with the criminal. These reports will tend to strengthen the tendency of the court to deal understandingly with the semi-responsible and borderline cases that have in the past been dealt with so clumsily by the criminal court.

There is no escape from the pressure that psychology and psychiatry and sociology are putting upon the conventional way of handling the criminal. Although experts and investigators differ in their statements as to the proportion of mentally deficient and psychopathic persons in the correctional institutions, the significance of mental abnormality as a fundamental cause of unsocial adjustment is becoming more firmly established by the constant advancement of the science of conduct.

In the past there has been little scientific insight into the nature of the maladjustment crime represents. The Massachusetts Commission on Probation, in a survey of the subse-

<sup>17</sup> General Laws, Chap. 123, Sec. 100A.

quent history of about three thousand persons who were placed on probation some eight or nine years before finds that not one of these criminals appears to have had a mental examination by the authority of the court. This study demonstrates, as a result of the later careers of these individuals, that there were mental conditions involved in many cases that should have been discovered and made the basis of treatment. By neglecting to get at these personality defects, the state passed these persons on to prisons, hospitals, schools for the feeble-minded or to such forms of unsocial conduct that the mental unsoundness of the individual became apparent to the least critical observer.

The court will be led increasingly to get scientific help in discovering the character of the material brought before it. The value of this effort to get at the personality behind the act of the offender will be so clearly proven that the court will be induced to take the second step of making more and more use of science as the basis of treatment. As a result, actual experience will bring out irrefutably the futility of our conventional penal system and its incompatibility with modern science. While no treatment of the criminal, however well adjusted to the science of conduct, will at the present level of society put an end to crime, the only rational program must be one that squares with science and represents the best that can be done from the point of view of treatment to suppress crime.

**Prevention of crime.**—Although the present correctional method of handling crime, with its emphasis upon fear and punishment as a means of repression, prevents some crime and by instilling fear of the law keeps a number of persons from embarking upon the course of criminal conduct that tempts them, it largely fails as a means of social protection and is hopelessly inadequate as a system of prevention. Yet it is in prevention that we find the greatest hope of decreasing crime.

Society must stress the idea of prevention if it is to make headway against crime. The program of the future will be marked by the seriousness with which society adopts the policy of prevention.

It is not to be expected that the best system will eliminate from highly complex society all crime. The greater the necessity of adding new forms of legal control, the greater the liability of crime. Like insanity, crime is a phenomenon that reveals the difficulty of social adjustment for a considerable proportion of those who are placed in circumstances that bring out their inherent defect in the equipment required for legal social behavior. Crime as a social happening contains two elements, the personality of the criminal and the pressure he receives from his environment that pushes him toward crime. Anything that strengthens the normal tendency of the personality or lessens the opportunities for attractive crime will tend to decrease it; anything that does the opposite will tend to increase crime.

Crime, therefore, in a large measure reflects the failures of society itself. A more rational society than we now have would more successfully cultivate the elements of personality that bring about good adjustment and would more effectively eliminate from the social environment those influences born of exploitation and unsocial attitudes that pass through the legal sieve today. Vested interests behind such bad influences as come from demoralizing shows, drug-selling, low newspaper standards, the sale of small arms, in association with an indifferent or uninformed public opinion, are social conditions that make for crime. From this angle the causes of crime boil down to the profit that comes from furnishing social conditions that tempt human weakness and to the general lack of social intelligence and integrity.

Not all crime is of such an origin. The most perfect society imaginable, with a high type of public opinion, would surely have some individuals who would commit crime because

of impulses of jealousy, anger, or vindictiveness due to hereditary propensity or brought about by the stress of their social circumstances.

By its very advancement society makes wholesome social adjustment progressively difficult, not merely because of new regulations or more laws, but because there are so many more conflicting interests, such a medley of human relationships. Moreover, secondary contacts due to the urbanization of life replace the more compelling primary contacts of the open country or village; and as the outside social coercion is reduced in its effectiveness a greater demand is put upon inner self-control.

Everything that helps to build up good self-control and elevating social influences tends toward the prevention of crime. This means that education in its widest sense is the most promising means of holding crime to its smallest proportions. Only an education, however, that moves consciously toward a more wholesome social life as a definite goal and that blinks at no facts in its self-criticism or scrutiny of social conditions can be of real value. A high school boy recently said in a confidential talk that when he entered the school just two in a class of thirty were known to cheat, but that by the beginning of the third year all but three were constantly cheating; the teachers appeared indifferent to conditions that encouraged dishonesty, and more and more of the class made use of the opportunities thrown in their way to get results without the necessary labor. Education received under such conditions will not contribute much to higher standards of social obligations. Crime reveals the individuals who lack the ability to stand the social testing; it also discloses the failures of a society lacking in social adequacy. Social and moral improvement is the only satisfactory remedy.

**Salvage of the criminal.**—Crime must not be thought of in merely negative terms. It represents a perversion of human impulses, most of which when properly socialized are an asset



to society. The criminal for example is disclosing in his conduct, when it is the product of an anti-social grudge, a deep sense of justice wrongly developed; in his courage, attested frequently both in his career and in legalized fighting when war presents its opportunity for enlistment, he is showing a heroic human virtue; in his adventurous contest with the lawful authorities he is revealing characteristics that at other times or under different circumstances would have turned him toward exploration, crusading or some of the other intensely exciting, but approved, struggles which always attract the soldier-of-fortune.

Crime is a positive outcropping of ideas and desires that discloses an individuality socially warped. The personality does not fit in well with the existing social order, either because of inherent defect of mental equipment or unfortunate social experiences that have undermined the individual's social stability, or because of both these conditions. The criminal, then, is chiefly a product that results when our socializing processes fail either because of faults in the raw human nature presented or because of the treatment given. The pity of the situation is that so often it is reasonable to suppose that a little different treatment at a crucial moment or a more wholesome combination of stimuli from the environment would have kept the criminal from his anti-social career. Society in its task of preventing crime must largely salvage the potential criminal by turning his impulses, when first they show tendency toward unsocial conduct, into safe and even useful expressions. It follows that the decrease of crime depends upon a reform of society itself more than it does upon the proper treatment of the individual who has been placed under the custody of the law.

## CHAPTER III

### MENTAL DISEASE AND MENTAL HYGIENE

**History of the treatment of the insane.**—Until the eighteenth century the insane were generally treated as either inspired or possessed of devils; the latter was the more common interpretation of the behavior of those suffering from mental disease. Egypt, classic Greece and Rome treated their insane with some understanding of their affliction, but without the advantage of modern science. Eastern countries permitted the insane to roam about, particularly in the tombs; we find them dwelling with the lepers, who were also social outcasts. In Europe almost until modern times a considerable number of the mentally diseased as well as those who were mentally deficient wandered freely about and, as Shakespeare shows us in “King Lear,” were looked upon as amusing. They frequented fairs and markets to entertain those who paid admission to see the strange antics of half-wits and others who were seriously deranged.

In England up to 1770 a visit to the mad people was reckoned amongst the sights, and the public paid to go into the asylums and look at the patients as now some people go to the circus to see giants, dwarfs, fat men and bearded women. Visitors would often irritate and plague the inmates to get them enraged in order to see them express their futile violence. Patients would even be given grass and horrible things to eat as a means of amusing sightseers.<sup>1</sup>

It has always been necessary in every civilization to care

<sup>1</sup> Ives, History of Penal Methods, p. 89.

for the more dangerously insane on account of their menace to the public. The Quakers in England deserve credit for the reform of insane hospitals toward the end of the eighteenth century. Roused by their knowledge of the brutality of the asylum at York, England, the Quakers started one of their own there, which was humane in spirit and altogether different from the conventional asylum of the time. As a result of this Quaker asylum, controversy broke out which revealed the scandals of the private asylums of England. It is not difficult to picture the cruelties of the treatment of the insane at that time when one remembers that insane George the Third of England was caged, frequently beaten, starved and kept from even his own children because this was the orthodox way of treating those suffering from mental disease.<sup>2</sup>

The House of Commons in 1815 and 1816 published reports that disclosed the abuses of the York Asylum and of the Bethlehem Hospital at Moorefields. For example, the York Asylum had thirteen women confined in a cell 12 feet by 7 feet 10 inches, without ventilation, and by night in four small secret cells that were so filthy that their existence was hidden from visitors. It was proven that the York Asylum had concealed 140 out of 365 deaths. The character of the administration of the Bethlehem Hospital is forcefully shown by the case of William Norris, "an educated man of fifty-five, who for more than twelve years had passed his life in a trough against a wall. He was bound by iron bars round his neck, waist, arms and shoulders. These bars were all connected by short chains with a sliding ring on an iron post behind, fixed in such a way that whilst able to raise himself in his trough and stand against the wall, he was unable to move away from it, and was unable to lie upon his side. For many years he had been under the charge of a keeper who was a notorious drunkard, and Norris's efforts to resist ill-treatment had only resulted in increasing the number of the

<sup>2</sup> Ives, *History of Penal Methods*, p. 86.

bars that bound him. At the time of the visit of the House of Commons Committee, Norris was sane enough to converse rationally and to read whatever books and papers he could get hold of.”<sup>3</sup> Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, by forcing a series of investigations kept persistently before Parliament the horrible conditions to be found in private asylums, until eventually he obtained legislation that brought about the desired reformation.

In America, Philadelphia has the credit of providing the first medical treatment of mental disease as a part of the work of the Philadelphia Hospital, established in 1732 and known officially for more than a century as an almshouse. The first institution planned exclusively for mental diseases was the Eastern State Hospital at Williamsburg, Virginia, incorporated in 1768 and open for the reception of patients October 12, 1773.<sup>4</sup> A citizen of Massachusetts in 1764 left in his will a provision for the establishment of a hospital for mental diseases in Boston; the selectmen of the city, however, declined the legacy, believing there were not enough mental cases to justify the establishment of such an institution. It was soon discovered that their judgment was a mistaken one, and in 1811 the Massachusetts General Hospital was incorporated and a department of mental disease was provided for, which opened in 1818, admitting a young man who was supposed to be possessed of a devil; this department later became the McLean Hospital.

Dorothea L. Dix, 1802–1877, had much to do with the reform of the treatment of the insane in almshouses and county jails; she addressed state legislatures, and as a result of her labor twenty states established insane hospitals and in many institutions such as jails and almshouses improvement of administration followed. Her work extended through Europe and her influence finally led to the establishment of

<sup>3</sup> Hammond and Hammond, Lord Shaftesbury, pp. 190–91.

<sup>4</sup> May, Mental Disease, p. 37.

two asylums for the insane in Japan. It was largely through her effort that St. Elizabeth's Hospital was established, under the authority of the federal government. This institution, which receives cases from the United States government service and from the District of Columbia, early began the scientific research that has brought it world-wide recognition.

During the early third of the nineteenth century hospitals for the insane had the confidence of the community. Toward the middle of the period there began to develop a feeling of disappointment which finally turned to suspicion. The disappointment had a reasonable basis in so far as the hospitals had not been able to obtain the results that had been expected of them. The suspicion was based upon the belief that patients were being wrongfully confined and that by associating with other persons already insane they themselves developed insanity. As a result of this public attitude legislation made the entrance of patients into hospitals for the insane a formal legal matter that had to be decided by court or jury. As a consequence it became impossible for patients in the early stages of mental disease to get into the hospitals, and the institutions increasingly became the place for the custodial care of chronic patients whose condition was so obviously abnormal that it could not be questioned by judge or jury.

As the hospitals took over the care of the chronic patients, the medical profession lost interest and these institutions drifted into the hands of politicians who used the necessity of custodial care as an excuse for furnishing positions to their followers in the capacity of superintendents and attendants. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the public began to take a more reasonable attitude with reference to insane hospitals, and constructive legislation appeared in the more progressive states. The hospitals more and more accepted the task of advancing mental health, and by means of their out-patient and social service departments effected a much larger type of health service.



In 1919 the Surgeon General of the United States Army, who during the war found the lack of uniformity in the various state commitment laws an embarrassing problem, asked the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to appoint a special committee to study the laws of the different states and recommend provisions for a modern law of commitment. This committee recommended provisions for voluntary commitment, temporary care, emergency commitment, and commitment for observation, provisions which were already proving their value in the Massachusetts law. The Temporary Care Law of the State of Massachusetts permits the superintendent of a state hospital for the insane, at the request of a physician, member of the local board of health, police officer of a city or town, or other state official, to receive into his institution and for a period not exceeding ten days to care for any person who needs immediate care and treatment because of mental derangement, other than delirium tremens or drunkenness. The Emergency Law permits the superintendent of a hospital to receive and detain for not more than five days without a court order any person "certified to be one of violent and dangerous insanity or of other emergency"<sup>5</sup> by two qualified medical examiners. The Observation Law provides that any person found by two qualified examiners to be in such mental condition that there is need of his being committed to a hospital for care and observation may be committed for a period of thirty-five days. This law is especially valuable in legal and criminal proceedings when the question of mental condition has been raised. The Boston Police Law provides that any person suffering from "delirium, mania, mental confusion, delusions, or hallucinations under arrest or who come under the care or protection of the police of the city of Boston, shall be taken to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital in the same manner in which persons afflicted

<sup>5</sup> Southard and Jarrett, *Kingdom of Evils*, p. 680.

with other diseases are taken to a general hospital.”<sup>6</sup> In other parts of the state these persons are cared for by the town or city until they can be admitted to a state hospital or given the protection of relatives or friends.<sup>7</sup>

**Mental disease and insanity.**—Science has at last committed itself to the task of understanding human behavior. As it progresses in its undertaking, and accumulates knowledge of man’s conduct, the significance of mental abnormality grows clearer. The hazy and false ideas regarding mental disease and insanity, so commonly held by those who have not had personal reason for becoming informed as to the nature of mental disorder, are an obstruction to social advancement. Mental disease is no longer a matter of importance only to physicians and the relatives of persons receiving treatment in insane hospitals. Mental disorder in its various forms is so wide in its social expression, so constantly involved in every kind of social problem, so persistently revealing itself in most unexpected places as a cause of social friction or menace, that it is absolutely imperative for the intelligent citizen to understand correctly the essential facts about mental disease and insanity.

Social workers, parents, medical doctors, judges, lawyers, ministers and teachers have special reasons for getting a clear notion of the meaning and significance of mental disorder. Peculiar and abnormal conduct is encountered without warning, and one who does not realize the social significance of mental disorder is never prepared to meet the responsibilities of his relationships with people.

No one can have a correct idea of mental disorder unless he recognizes the difference between insanity and mental disease. Insanity is not a medical or psychiatric term: it is legal and social in its significance; it means that the behavior

<sup>6</sup> Southard and Jarrett, *Kingdom of Evils*, p. 681.

<sup>7</sup> See May, *Laws Controlling Commitments to State Hospitals for Mental Diseases*, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1921, pp. 536-44.

of an individual is socially so badly adjusted to the demands of community life that the person needs special attention and is not to be held accountable for his actions, as are normal, self-responsible people.<sup>8</sup> Some legal body, by the constituted legal means, has adjudged the insane individual a person of unsound mind. When used most accurately, insanity means a legal statement of social irresponsibility. In a more popular sense, the insane are those whose social conduct is clearly so abnormal that the observers, on a basis of common sense, recognize that the individual is not his former self, but an irresponsible person whose actions are in sharp contrast with the general practices that are considered sane.

Thus even when the law decides that a person is insane, we have a definition of social status and nothing more. We do not know why he is insane. We have no basis for judging whether he can be cured or not. We do not even know whether his type of difficulty is harmless or dangerous to himself or a menace to others. The moment we ask for information regarding the character of his trouble we find ourselves concerned not with the legal or popular term, insanity, but with mental disease. And the situation is much more complicated than the plural, diseases, suggests. Not only have we many different diseases, each characterized by symptoms that can be grouped together under a definite designation, but there is also an overlapping which makes sharp distinction impossible. In other words, the idea of disease is justified, but there is not the clear separation that modern medicine can now make with reference to physical disease. Psychiatry, the science that deals with mental disease, is in much the same predicament that medical science itself was before Pasteur developed the knowledge of the bacterial origin of disease. Mental disorder can be understood only when it is conceived as a disease; but its various forms are not separate

<sup>8</sup> White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*, p. 26.

diseases in the exact sense that small pox is different from malaria. When, as in the case of paresis, we have as definite and certain a knowledge of the causes of the disorder as, for example, we have of diphtheria, then we can speak of the two disorders with equal precision.

Science is going forward rapidly in its study of mental disorder and the present rate of progress is most encouraging. Nevertheless, in its actual grasp of the causes of mental disorders, its present attainment ranges from little substantial knowledge to certain, demonstrable causation.

Another element in the present situation regarding mental disease needs to be generally known. There are two different lines that science is pursuing in its investigation of mental disorder. One approach is through the study of the brain and other body structures as they influence brain action. This represents the physiological conception, and during the last century as a result of the progress made in the study of the brain it became almost the exclusive way of studying mental disorder. Wonderful discoveries with the aid of the microscope were made, especially with reference to the power of control that certain portions of the brain have over definite body movements; for instance, it was found that a specific part in the "motor area" of the cortex of the brain has control of the movements of the toes. Brain surgery developed to the point of being able to locate exactly the position of some bone fragment that was pressing upon a definite area of the brain and producing by its injury a paralysis of the part of the body movement controlled by the injured portion of the brain. In the enthusiasm roused by these important discoveries about the physiology and anatomy of the brain, science expected that by going on with its investigation it would soon discover the causes of mental disorders. Time, however, proved the task to be more difficult than had been supposed, and there developed another way of regarding men-

tal disease, the psychological conception, in contrast to the physiological.<sup>9</sup>

This psychological approach assumes that mental disorder can be studied without attention to the brain changes that are supposed to accompany mental activity, by an investigation of the mental processes themselves. Those who take this method of studying mental disease are at present separated into various schools as a result of different interpretations of mental behavior. These differences naturally impress the lay reader disproportionately. In spite of these apparent discords, which are upheld by various specialists, frequently with an intensity of feeling which is contrary to the spirit of science, there can be no doubt that facts are being demonstrated and generally accepted by the psychological investigators of mental disorder; and there is promise of substantial progress.

Among the students of the psychological interpretation of mental disorder no worker has shown more originality or attracted more attention by his theories than Dr. Sigmund Freud, an Austrian psychiatrist who has developed the Freudian psychology, which stresses the subconscious as a source of motives for behavior, and the sex instinct as an impulse that influences conduct. Freud also has impressed upon the psychological investigator the determining influence of the early years of childhood on behavior.<sup>10</sup> He has worked out a technique for the gathering of knowledge regarding these childhood and later experiences of serious emotional importance, and this is known as the psycho-analytic method. The Freudian treatment of certain forms of mental disease is designated psycho-analysis.

**The amount of mental disease.**—When we try to compare the present and past to determine whether mental disease is increasing or not, we find ourselves hampered by the same

<sup>9</sup> Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>10</sup> Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*, p. 119.



thing that appears when we make such comparisons with reference to almost any social problem. Society, by its advancement in complexity, is all the time multiplying the opportunities for the expression of mental disease, and it is therefore more frequently brought to light. Better diagnosis keeps pace with an ever-widening opportunity for mental disease to show itself, and as a consequence mental disease appears as a load that grows heavier with the onward march of civilization.

This table shows the increase of persons suffering from mental diseases, who have been placed in institutions:

TABLE 4 <sup>11</sup>

PATIENTS WITH MENTAL DISEASE IN INSTITUTIONS, 1880-1920

YEAR	NUMBER	PER 100,000 OF GENERAL POPULATION
1880.....	40,942	81.6
1890.....	74,028	118.2
1904.....	150,151	183.6
1910.....	187,791	204.2
1918.....	223,957 *	217.5
1920.....	232,680 *	220.1

\* Excluding paroles.

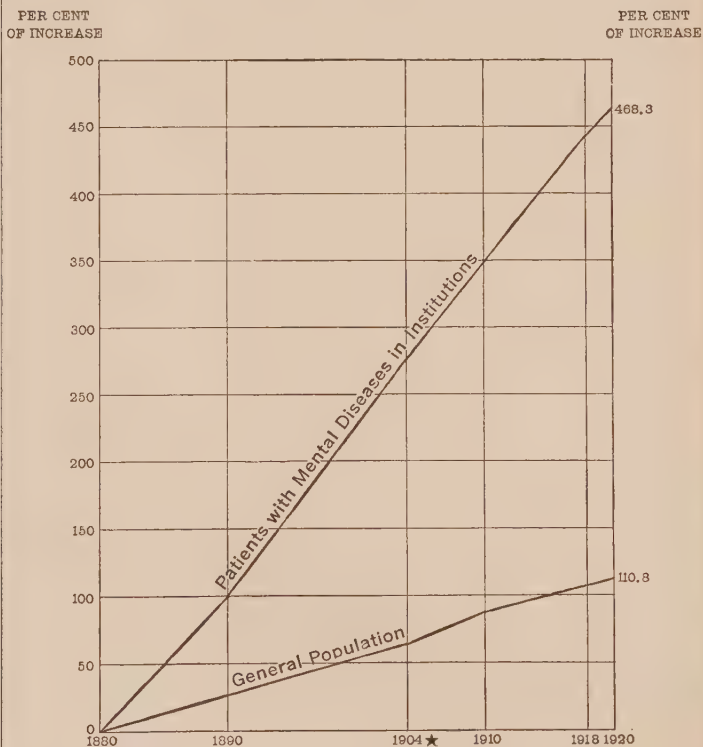
The same increase in comparison with the increase of population is graphically shown by Chart I on next page.

These statistics do not, of course, give us a fair estimate of the number of persons suffering from mental disorder. Only those are included who were so clearly suffering in their conduct from some mental trouble that a judge without psychiatric training could see that they needed to be removed to an institution, not because of their illness, but on account of their probable risk to the community unless they were given custodial care. These institutional patients also excluded

<sup>11</sup> Pollock and Furbush, Patients with Mental Disease, *Mental Hygiene*, Jan., 1921, p. 145.

CHART I <sup>12</sup>

INCREASE OF PATIENTS WITH MENTAL DISEASE IN INSTITUTIONS  
COMPARED WITH INCREASE OF GENERAL POPULATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES, 1880-1920



★No special census of patients was taken in 1900

<sup>12</sup> Pollock and Furbush, loc. cit., p. 146.

those suffering from the milder disorders, commonly called nervous diseases, such as hysteria, neurasthenia, overwork, etc., and the larger part of those who had dementia or epilepsy.

Dr. Frankwood Williams, Director of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene, estimates that each year at least 50,000 new patients are admitted to institutions, and that the number is constantly increasing.<sup>13</sup>

The mere economic burden of the institutional patients who suffer from mental disease is an immense load for society to carry. It has been carefully estimated that, taking into account the loss in productive activities as well as actual cost of institutional care, these patients who are committed to institutions represent a cost of not less than one hundred and forty million dollars annually.<sup>14</sup>

**The social side of mental disease.**—Although social maladjustment is the outward expression of any form of mental disorder, the types of mental disease which cause these faulty reactions are too many and too different in character to be lumped together in a discussion of the causes of mental disease. In the past heredity as a cause has been stressed. Different authorities have ascribed hereditary predisposition as the cause of mental disease in from 30 to 90 per cent of the cases. It is exceedingly difficult to get accurate data for the determining of the proportion of mental disease to be charged to inheritance. Not only is it impossible in many cases to separate clearly physical heredity from the social influences that for want of a better term are called social heredity, but it is impossible at present to collect personal and family records with anything like the precision that the problem demands.

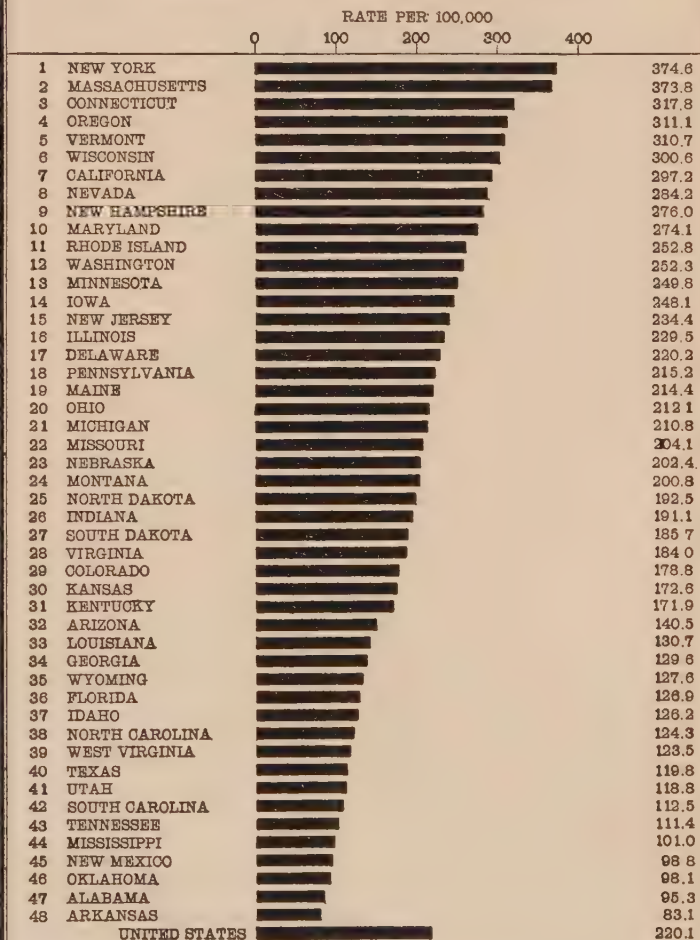
No one can get a true picture of the meaning of mental

<sup>13</sup> Williams, Community Responsibility in Mental Hygiene, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, p. 499.

<sup>14</sup> May, Mental Disease, p. 29.

CHART II <sup>15</sup>

PATIENTS WITH MENTAL DISEASE IN INSTITUTIONS IN THE  
UNITED STATES, WITH RATES PER 100,000 OF  
GENERAL POPULATION, JANUARY 1, 1920

<sup>15</sup> Pollock and Furbush, loc. cit., p. 150.

disease if he attempts to explain by merely cataloguing cases under a series of stereotyped causes such as syphilis, alcohol, business difficulty, family incompatibility, and the like. Even where we have the clearest type of cause, as in the case of paresis, which results from syphilis, it must be remembered that the mental disease as it shows itself in its expression in a particular person is definitely related to the previous life history of that individual. Hereditary traits, whatever they actually may be, early childhood experiences and adult happenings are all involved in the conduct of the paretic. For example, alcoholism exerts an important contributing influence in the development of the disease, although few perhaps would go to the extreme of Stoddart, who says: "I believe I am right in stating that I have never had a patient suffering from general paralysis (paresis) who had previously been a teetotaler."<sup>16</sup>

In the types of mental disease which do not have the clear causation of paresis, it is all the more necessary to realize that each individual case represents an entire personal development, in which the final smash is the logical cumulation of the chain of influences that have gone before. It is this fact, with the opportunity it gives to protect even those of somewhat faulty hereditary tendencies by good habits and social protection, that is at the bottom of the preventive program of mental hygiene.

Social situations therefore tend to encourage or discourage the appearance of certain forms of mental disorder. It is never the mere environment in its strictest sense, the immediate circumstances, that press upon the individual. It is the individual as he has already become as a result of personal hereditary predisposition, and the accumulated results of this predisposition as expressed in its relation to the changing experiences that from time to time have constituted his per-

<sup>16</sup> Stoddart, *Mind and Its Disorders*, p. 250.



sonal environment. Thus his prejudices, his likings, his unchosen, accidental mishaps or good fortunes, have led him to select from the conditions about him certain influences that have been woven into the texture of his personality. At any time of testing, due to unusual pressure from the environment, such as sudden loss of property, or to an inward weakening of the physical body which hampers former brain efficiency, as in the degeneration of the nervous system which accompanies dementia, the fabric can not stand the strain.

In a most interesting description, Dr. Frankwood Williams has made vivid the gradual development of insanity:

“And finally we come to those who are to fail entirely—that part of the army of 750,000 who are still in the school. It is commonly believed that individuals become insane suddenly. No one ever became insane suddenly. Mental disease develops over a long period of time. From small beginnings it grows insidiously until, to the uninitiated, it blossoms forth in full bloom to the distress and consternation of those taken by surprise. And yet before their eyes and the eyes of school teachers and ministers and friends and family physician, the thing has been developing all these years—only they have called it by other names.

“Some will drop out of school before the high-school course is finished; some will finish well—as valedictorians, perhaps. On they will go to college, many of them, where, on entrance, they will be given a physical examination (with exercises prescribed to straighten their shoulders) and a psychological examination (I.Q. found unusually high—undoubtedly a future intellectual leader), but there will be no one present to note some other minor matters. Some will soon drop out with—many excuses, but the fact is, of course, that they simply were not of college caliber; some will finish little known and with modest grades, but others with honors and keys and the blessings of faculties who have daily nurtured them for four years, but who have never for an hour understood them. And—as the world is—all of them, within the fifteen years, will have

been gathered to their mattresses on the floors of hospitals for the insane. There will be no miracle.”<sup>17</sup>

In so far as civilization increases the stress of living and fails to build up a preparation for life ever advancing in its adequacy to meet additional tension, it produces conditions favorable to the increase of mental disorder. Mere accumulation of culture, the extension of restraint and the loading in of social responsibilities, unless accompanied with a corresponding improvement in the influences that make for mental sanity, simply means that a greater number of persons find the task of good adjustment beyond the power of their equipment of mind and body, and as a consequence, to use the familiar phrase, they go insane.

The significance of the social situation as a factor in producing mental disorder appears in the treatment of the patient, especially the psychoneurotic, as carried on by the psychiatrist. An attempt is made to reconstruct the personality by the process of re-education, the pressure from the environment is released, if possible, by a change either of circumstances or of inner attitude toward circumstances that must be endured. The life history is explored to discover, if possible, where the adjusting mechanism is breaking down and what inward inclinations, known or covered by self-deceit, have caused the friction that has thrown the machinery out of gear.

**Alcohol and mental disease.**—In one of the oldest of the Egyptian papyri in the British Museum appears a reference to alcohol, containing the statement: “if beer gets into a man it overcomes his mind.”<sup>18</sup> This ancient pronouncement regarding the adverse effect of alcohol upon the mind is abundantly proven by the experiments and statistical findings of modern science.

<sup>17</sup> Williams, Community Responsibility in Mental Hygiene, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, pp. 506-07.

<sup>18</sup> May, Mental Disease, p. 344.

Alcohol is related to mental disease in a two-fold way. On the one hand, men turn to its use for the same kind of relief that the neurotic individual gets from the hysteria or neurasthenia which permits him to escape the ordeal of facing reality and adjusting himself to its actual limitations and responsibilities. In this way alcoholism becomes itself a type of mental disorder. The drab life of monotonous routine, the harsh facts of a dull existence, the painful exhaustion of excessive physical labor, the persistent memory of misfortune are all pushed out of consciousness by drink. A friend tells me that when he was working long stretches for an industry that once maintained a lengthy day of continuous labor, most of his associates rushed, as soon as they were finally free, to get drunk and reel their way to bed.

Men turn to drink for more serious reasons than the effort to use the neurotic way of escape from reality. The use of alcohol may mark the beginning of some serious form of mental disease, such as paresis or dementia praecox. Thus the drinking may be one of the ways by which a mental malady shows itself, an evidence of the unsoundness of mind which will soon appear in clearer and more dangerous symptoms.

Of course, alcohol merely adds force to the pathological current which is sweeping the victim toward an insane asylum, for alcohol acts as a cause as well as a result of mental disorder. In some cases, such as alcoholic psychoses, it is the chief cause; in other cases, a contributing cause to the mental breakdown. A stationary epilepsy or dementia praecox may be brought to a quick and serious outburst by the patient's taking to drink, even though previously the disease was latent and perhaps, without the influence of alcohol, would have so remained.<sup>19</sup> The chronic drinker, even if he escapes the major mental disorders, may nevertheless have many of the symptoms of mental disorder, such as great emotional instability, moral and intellectual deterioration, marked changes of per-

<sup>19</sup> May, *Mental Disease*, p. 347.

sonality, especially with reference to family and social responsibilities, craving for sex vice and delusions.<sup>20</sup>

It is of course difficult to untangle the causes of mental disease in order to give to alcohol as a contributing cause its true proportion of influence. Among those patients admitted to the New York State hospitals during 1919, concerning whom a trustworthy history as to the use of alcohol could be obtained, about 16 per cent were intemperate. Putting aside the alcoholic psychoses, intemperance appeared in the history of the other mental diseases as follows:

TABLE 5<sup>21</sup>

PSYCHOSES	PER CENT INTEMPERATE
Senile psychoses.....	13.0
General paresis.....	23.9
Psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis...	15.5
Dementia praecox.....	9.6
Paranoia and paranoid conditions.....	12.5
Epileptic psychoses.....	10.8
Manic-depressive.....	6.0

To the use of alcohol must be charged directly the responsibility for the alcoholic psychoses, Korsakow's disease, alcoholic hallucinations, delirium tremens, alcoholic deterioration, even if in some cases there are also other contributing causes. Even when the patients were destined to develop eventually some form of mental disease, without intemperance alcoholic psychosis would never have resulted.

The alcoholic psychoses are naturally more common among men than women, the proportion being about three to one; they are also found in greater quantity among city dwellers than among country people, this being especially noticeable in the case of urban and rural women.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kraepelin, *Clinical Psychiatry*, pp. 167-69.

<sup>21</sup> From New York State Hospital Commission report for year ending June 30, 1919.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenau, *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene*, p. 429.

With so much of conflicting opinion as to the effect of our Federal Prohibition Law upon alcoholism, it is socially important to determine the influence of the 18th Amendment with reference to alcoholic mental disease. Fortunately we have an authoritative report of the facts as they are at present, in the study of Pollock and Furbush. Their statement as a result of careful investigation is summarized as follows:

"Alcoholic insanity in this country is now much less prevalent than it was in 1910, but more prevalent than in 1920. The rate of decline since 1910 has been greater among women than among men. The reduction in alcoholic cases is due in part to a change in the habits of the people and in part to restrictive laws.

"The rate of alcoholic insanity is much higher among the foreign born than among the native white population. The rate is extremely low among native women of native parentage.

"The rate of alcoholic insanity is higher among Negroes than among native whites.

"The enforcement of prohibitory laws is largely a matter of changing the more or less fixed habits of our foreign-born population.

"The rate of alcoholic insanity is much higher in cities than in rural districts. There is practically no alcoholic insanity among women in rural districts.

"Alcoholic insanity occurs principally in advanced middle life, following several years of excessive drinking.

"With respect to education, economic condition, and marriage, patients with alcoholic insanity do not differ greatly from the general average adult population."<sup>23</sup>

Some of the evidence gathered by Pollock and Furbush appears in Chart III, which reveals the condition in New York State.

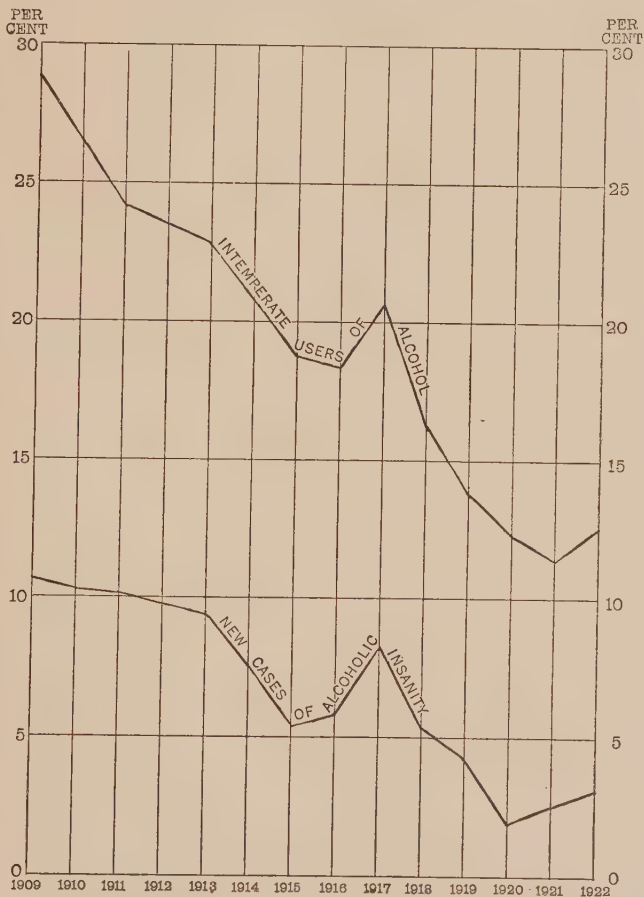
The situation in a wider area is shown by Chart IV.

<sup>23</sup> Pollock and Furbush, Prohibition and Alcoholic Mental Disease, *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1924, p. 570.

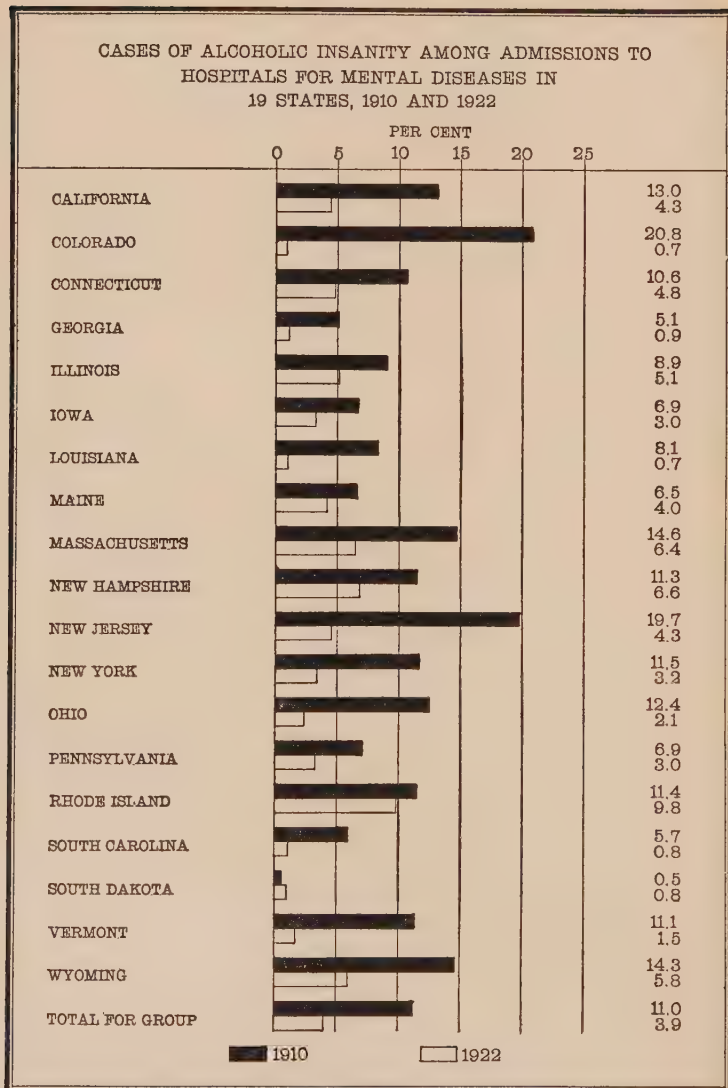


CHART III <sup>24</sup>

CASES OF ALCOHOLIC INSANITY AND INTEMPERATE USERS  
OF ALCOHOL AMONG NEW ADMISSIONS TO NEW YORK  
CIVIL STATE HOSPITALS, 1909-1922

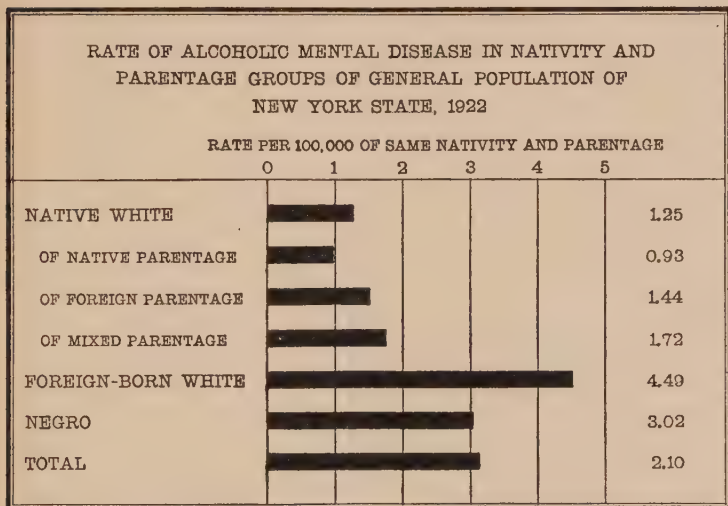


<sup>24</sup> Pollock and Furbush, op. cit., p. 553.

CHART IV <sup>25</sup><sup>25</sup> Pollock and Furbush, loc. cit., p. 563.

The rate of alcoholic insanity in 1922 was lowest among the native whites of native parentage.

CHART V<sup>26</sup>



National distribution is shown by the table on page 94.

**Rural versus urban environment.**—Paresis as well as alcoholic psychosis appears more frequently in the urban environment. In her study of Social Facts Relative to Patients with Mental Disease, Edith M. Furbush found in the twelve states investigated that 71.8 per cent of the institutional cases of mental disease came from urban environment and 28.2 from rural. In this study the terms *rural* and *urban* were used as they are in the classification of the Federal Census Bureau: *urban* refers to places of 2500 population or more and *rural* to all others. The detailed record of nine of the states studied is shown on page 95.

<sup>26</sup> Pollock and Furbush, loc. cit., p. 557.

TABLE 6 <sup>27</sup>DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE PATIENTS WITH ALCOHOLIC  
INSANITY FIRST ADMITTED IN 1922

Country of Birth	Foreign-born White General Population in New York U. S. Census, 1920	Number of Patients			Rate Per 100,000 of Same Nativity, U. S. Census,
		Males	Females	Total	
Austria.....	151,172	9	1	10	6.61
Canada.....	111,974	5	1	6	5.36
Czechoslovakia...	38,247	5	1	6	15.69
England.....	135,305	3	1	4	2.96
Finland.....	12,504	1	..	1	8.00
Germany.....	295,650	6	1	7	2.37
Holland.....	13,772	1	..	1	7.26
Hungary.....	78,374	1	..	1	1.28
Ireland.....	284,747	34	8	42	14.75
Italy.....	545,173	13	2	15	2.75
Lithuania.....	12,121	5	..	5	41.25
Norway.....	27,573	3	..	3	10.88
Poland.....	247,519	5	..	5	2.02
Russia.....	529,240	11	1	12	2.27
Scotland.....	37,654	4	..	4	10.62
Sweden.....	53,025	3	..	3	5.66

From Tables 7 and 8 it is clear that, contrary to the opinion of some people, the city with its tension, constant stimulation, and high degree of competition is a more testing environment with reference to normality of mind than the country. This is interesting in the light of the present city-drift and the even more significant urbanizing of life without reference to geographical environment. One must remember, however, in considering the greater proportion of persons with mental disease coming from the city as compared with the country, that alcohol and syphilis play a significant part as

<sup>27</sup> Pollock and Furbush, loc. cit.

causes of paresis and alcoholic psychoses, and that venereal disease and intemperance are both more prevalent in the city than in the country.

TABLE 7 <sup>68</sup>

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ENVIRONMENT OF FIRST ADMISSIONS  
IN NINE STATES

STATE	URBAN		RURAL		UNASCERTAINED	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Colorado.....	47.2	55.4	47.2	37.1	5.5	7.5
Iowa.....	57.1	59.9	37.3	38.5	5.6	1.6
Maine.....	51.4	51.2	48.6	48.8	....	....
Nebraska.....	42.4	48.4	44.4	45.7	13.2	5.8
New York.....	87.0	86.9	12.5	12.4	0.5	0.8
Rhode Island.....	96.6	96.1	3.4	3.9	....	....
South Carolina....	25.3	24.7	72.0	72.0	2.7	3.3
South Dakota.....	39.4	74.0	60.6	26.0	....	....
Virginia.....	42.3	42.3	57.4	57.7	0.3	....
Total.....	69.8	71.8	28.5	26.9	1.7	1.3

TABLE 8 <sup>29</sup>

THE RATES OF FIRST ADMISSIONS PER 100,000 OF GENERAL POPULATION OF THE SAME ENVIRONMENT ARE AS FOLLOWS:

	Males	Females	Total
Urban.....	74.3	65.6	69.9
Rural.....	40.2	35.5	37.9

**Mental disease and the World War.**—When the United States entered the World War, and the examination of men for military service began, it was found that one of the frequent causes of rejection was either mental disease or deficiency. From the second report of the Provost Marshal

<sup>28</sup> Furbush, Patients with Mental Diseases, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1921, p. 594.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 595.



General to the Secretary of War in 1919 it appeared that about 12 per cent of the total rejections were due to nervous or mental disease.

The experience of the other nations already at war had disclosed the great importance of the problem of mental disease, both for the civilian and army populations under the conditions of modern warfare. The military policy of the United States attempted to make profitable use of the experience of the other nations, and a psychiatric service was organized on a scale that found a place for nearly every American psychiatrist that was available.

Already the popular mind had adopted the term, *shell shock*, as an explanation of the large number of soldiers who had returned from the front with what seemed to be a peculiar type of mental disability. While "shell shock" varied in form, including every type of functional disorder, amnesia, hallucination, functional heart trouble, paralysis, blindness, deafness, etc., the significant fact is that "shell shock" always expressed itself in some form that made military service impossible.

The problem at first was complicated by the fact that brain and spinal injuries due to shell concussion were included among the shell shock cases and as a consequence two principal theories arose as to the cause. One stressed the physical effects of the artillery fire, while the other called attention to the fact that the forms of shell shock disabilities were not unlike the expression of hysteria and other neuroses as witnessed by the psychiatrist in his ordinary work with civilian patients.<sup>30</sup> Major General Ireland stated to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs that of the 2500 persons suffering from shell shock, who were awaiting transportation to the United States, 2100 recovered within a day or two after the armistice was declared.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Schwab, *Influence of War upon Concepts of Mental Diseases and Neuroses, Mental Hygiene, July, 1920*, p. 664.

<sup>31</sup> May, *loc. cit.*, p. 201.

The most important result that came from the study of this large problem of psychoneurosis developed during the war experience was the proof it gave of the substantial correctness of science in regarding mental conflict as the primary cause of these disorders.<sup>32</sup> Col. Thomas W. Salmon of the United States Army has given us the following summary of the dramatic and unavailing struggle of the soldier to harmonize his conflicting impulses:

"The psychological basis of the war neuroses (like that of the neuroses in civil life) is an elaboration, with endless variations, of one central theme: escape from an intolerable situation in real life to one made tolerable by the neurosis. The conditions which may make intolerable the situation in which a soldier finds himself hardly need stating. Not only fear, which exists at some time in nearly all soldiers and in many is constantly present, but horror, revulsion against the ghastly duties which must be sometimes performed, intense longing for home, particularly in married men, emotional situations resulting from the inter-play of personal conflicts and military conditions, all play their part in making an escape of some sort mandatory. Death provides a means which cannot be sought consciously. Flight or desertion is rendered impossible by ideals of duty, patriotism and honor, by the reactions acquired by training or imposed by discipline and by herd reactions. Nevertheless, the conflict between a simple and direct expression in flight of the instinct of self-preservation and such factors demands some sort of compromise. Wounds solve the problem most happily for many men and the mild exhilaration so often seen among the wounded has a sound psychological basis. Others with a sufficient adaptability find a means of adjustment. The neurosis provides a means of escape so convenient that the real source of wonder is not that it should play such an important part in military life but that so many men should find a satisfactory adjustment without its intervention. The constitutionally neurotic, having most readily at their disposal the mechanism of

<sup>32</sup> Rosenau, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

functional nervous diseases, employ it most frequently. They constitute, therefore, a large proportion of all cases but a very striking fact in the present war is the number of men who develop war neuroses in the face of the unprecedentedly terrible conditions to which they are exposed.”<sup>33</sup>

When shell shock was treated as essentially a psychological problem, even amid the limited opportunities of the military hospitals, it was demonstrated that the great majority of the patients could be successfully returned to duty. The treatment was of course individual in character, but based upon the conception of a psychic conflict as the essential cause of the difficulty.<sup>34</sup>

**Classification of mental diseases.**—The attempt to make a classification of mental diseases dates almost from the beginning of medical science. It is said that Hippocrates recognized three forms of mental disorder: mania, melancholia, and dementia, although we do not know that he used these terms with the significance now given them in psychiatric literature.

With the development of the science of psychiatry less stress than formerly has been placed upon the classifying of mental diseases under distinct types. Once what is now regarded as a grouping of characteristic symptoms and social reactions for the sake of statistical record and for diagnostic convenience was treated as a separate entity, and when the patient was labeled as suffering from this or that form of mental disease it was felt that considerable progress had been made in diagnosis.

It is now generally recognized by the specialist in mental disease that classification can not be complete, rigid or final. Science does not at present possess such a knowledge of the various expressions of mental disorder as to permit a definite

<sup>33</sup> Salmon, *The Care and Treatment of Mental Diseases and War Neuroses (Shell Shock) in the British Army. War Work Committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1917.*

<sup>34</sup> Rosenau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446-47.

classifying of each characteristic form on the basis of its special cause.

Although terms are necessarily used to distinguish groups of mental disorder that can be set apart on the basis of common symptoms, courses, causes or other significant characteristics, the value of these classifications is no longer exaggerated. The lay mind, however, is still influenced by the more rigid terminology of the past and as a result gets a wrong idea of the nature of mental disease. There is, for example, a tendency to assume that the name given a mental disorder has the same significance for diagnosis and for prognosis that the terms typhoid fever or diphtheria have in the realm of physical disease. The situation in the field of mental disease is, however, not at all similar.

We now know positively the cause of such diseases as typhoid fever or diphtheria. By experimental investigation science has proved that such diseases are due to definite infections of bacterial character and to these causes alone. In other words the chain of causation is precisely established and each disease is different from the others because it results from its own particular cause. Some mental disorders are a mental expression of physical conditions of equal certainty so far as causation is concerned. Paresis, or general paralysis, which results from the destruction of brain substance due to syphilis, and a temporary mania resulting from the poisoning of a patient suffering from typhoid fever, are examples.

As a rule, however, mental disorder can not be so sharply defined on the basis of cause. It is also impossible on the basis of behavior to distinguish mental disorders with certainty. All patients who have paresis do not conduct themselves the same. On the other hand, two individuals who are classified as having different types of mental disorder may each attempt murder or suicide or some other type of abnormal behavior.

Classification of mental disorders is not therefore in itself a satisfactory means of diagnosis. Each individual has to be studied as a separate personality, and all the information that throws light upon his character has to be gathered and studied as a whole. Heredity, childhood diseases, childhood behavior and experiences, love affairs, physical conditions, in short every influence that has impressed itself upon the personality must be taken into account in understanding the disorder, its treatment and possible cure.

More knowledge is constantly bringing about changes in the classification of mental disorders. There are many classifications, and if the reader is interested in comparing some of them, an excellent summary may be found in May's *Mental Diseases*, Part I, Chapter 14. The following classification, given in William A. White's *Outlines of Psychiatry*, is both brief and comprehensive and has been widely used: <sup>35</sup>

- delicious & noble feelings*  
*the Depressive*  
*drinking & games*
1. PARANOIA AND PARANOID STATES — *Extreme Dementia*
  2. MANIC-DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOSES — *up & down (extreme)*
  3. PARESIS — *Physical Disease caused by Syphilis*
  4. DEMENTIA PRÆCOX
  5. PRE-SENILE, SENILE AND ARTERIOSCLEROTIC PSYCHOSES *Childish*
  6. INFECTION-EXHAUSTION PSYCHOSES — *Lead Poisoning*
  7. TOXIC PSYCHOSES *Delirium from Typhoid*
  8. PSYCHOSES ASSOCIATED WITH ORGANIC DISEASES AND INJURY OF THE BRAIN
  9. THE SYMPTOMATIC PSYCHOSES *Hysteria*
  - ✓ 10. BORDERLAND AND EPISODIC STATES
  11. IDIOCY AND IMBECILITY

**The psychoneuroses.**—The psychoneuroses, which appear in the division of borderland and episodic states in White's classification, are especially significant for the student of present-day social problems.

Neurasthenia is a disease characterized by extreme physi-

<sup>35</sup> White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*, p. 28.



cal and mental fatigue, depression and a pronounced tendency toward hypochondria. Neurasthenia is considered by some to be a disease due to nervous strain and exhaustion, while others consider a life of luxury, idleness, and particularly lack of interests, the real cause.

Psychasthenia represents the condition of those who lack the mental ability to face the actual world with its problems and to think their way straight through difficulties. Instead they turn toward mysticism or get entangled in chronic doubts and fears.

Hysteria is a mental disorder characterized by definite physical symptoms such as blindness or paralysis or sensory disturbances, without the physical conditions that would explain the disability.

Anxiety neurosis, as the name suggests, is a mental condition which makes one liable at any time to intense and persistent experiences of anxious fear.

Constitutional psychic inferiority is a designation which provides a place to put together those who are so emotionally unstable as to be unfit to deal adequately with life. Even when they have a high degree of intelligence they are unable to handle their social responsibilities with success. They represent a borderland type that at times passes into a serious form of mental disorder.

Patients who suffer from some form of psychoneurosis drift from doctor to doctor, to medical clinics, and frequently are operated upon because of some symptom of organic disorder that has no actual existence. Eventually some come to the psychiatrist for the help that they have so long needed and have failed to get from the physician or surgeon.

It is in dealing with this class of sufferers that Mental Hygiene achieves its greatest successes aside from the preventive work which is so difficult to estimate. It is generally admitted that those who develop psychoneurosis are greatly influenced by environmental conditions and previ-

ous personal behavior. In treating these cases there is need of assisting the patient to build a more wholesome personality and it is also necessary to make the environment as favorable as possible to the new inner attitude.

The actual treatment given varies because at present there is not a general agreement as to the causes of these maladies, but instead there are several schools that differ both in their theories of causation and in their systems of treatment. One of these schools has especially influenced modern thought with reference to the meaning of the psychoneurosis and also with reference to the larger problem of mental mechanisms. The special contribution of the Freudian school, established upon the teaching of Sigmund Freud, has become known as psycho-analysis, but its two-fold character must be carefully distinguished. Psycho-analysis, as a method, means getting the life history of the individual by stimulating memory by means of cross-examination and using the material that the patient is finally able to bring to consciousness, for the understanding of the forces that have led the person into his abnormal experience. Psycho-analysis is also a special interpretation of the causes of mental disorder, developed by Freud and his followers. Psychiatrists who do not accept the Freudian explanation of mental disorder may, and frequently do, use the psycho-analytic method of the unraveling of the past history of the patient, because they find it more satisfactory than merely taking the facts which the patient remembers without special effort or than discovering hidden material by the process of hypnotizing the patient and forcing his mind to reveal its unconscious elements. Much confusion of thought in discussions of Freudian psychology is because the distinction between the method and system of Freud is not always clearly recognized.

Environmental influences play so large a part in the development, arrest or cure of a psychoneurosis that it is in this field of mental disorder that psychiatric social work is

especially valuable. The physician can not by himself do for the patient all that is necessary. The problem of social adjustment is likely to be a recurrent one and the service of an experienced social worker who has the psychiatric background for the understanding of the meaning of the patient's difficulties that originate from his surroundings is highly desirable in the handling of cases of psychoneurosis.

**The mental hygiene movement.**—Although there has been great improvement in the care of persons suffering from mental diseases, associated with an ever-developing science which provides a firm basis for the care and treatment of patients, the outstanding hopeful element in the realm of mental disease is the mental hygiene movement. This has had a beginning so definite that it can be easily located chronologically. Clifford W. Beers, after having himself been a patient in public and private institutions, regained his health and out of the memory of his experience wrote a book entitled: "A Mind that Found Itself"; this was published in 1908 and immediately won the attention of those interested in the problem of mental disease. Professor William James, the great American psychologist, was one of the first to see the significance of Beers' autobiographical statement. Mr. Beers wrote his book with a purpose: he desired to gain the sympathy of persons with means for the organization of a society to improve the institutional care of the insane. Using his own experience as a basis, he was able to enlist a large body of influential and thoughtful Americans in a program of mental hygiene. The first state Mental Hygiene Society was organized in Connecticut and began to function in 1908. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was organized the following year. It was exceedingly fortunate that Dr. Thomas W. Salmon became its medical director in 1912, and from this time its influence upon American social life has been constantly increasing.

The mental hygiene movement has developed into a much

wider work than the program Mr. Beers at first had in mind for the more humane and scientific care of persons suffering from mental diseases. It has surveyed existing conditions, influenced legislation, stimulated psychiatric education, revealed ever more clearly the mental implications of social problems, and especially emphasized the educational side of mental health. In following the logic of events the mental hygiene movement has more and more tended toward a preventive service. By its school clinics it has demonstrated the imperative need of psychiatric examination of school children. Many of our states now have Mental Hygiene Societies whose work is correlated with that of the National Committee. In the World War the National Committee gave invaluable assistance in dealing with the great problems brought out by the ordeal of modern warfare. The opportunity resulting from the spectacular mental abnormalities that appeared among the soldiers and sailors was also used to the utmost by the Committee for impressing the public mind with the importance of mental hygiene.

**Mental hygiene in industry.**—One of the by-products of the mental hygiene movement is the attention that is being given to mental problems that arise among workers. The psychiatric specialist has shown that the psychopathic individual is responsible for a considerable amount of the unrest and the accidents and losses that occur in business, especially amongst factory workers. Once the employer looked on his workers as so many "hands"; today if he senses the real character of his employment problems he must regard his workers as individuals, each with his own traits which make it easy or difficult for him to fit in the organization which employs him. Business is a distinctly human relationship in which individuals come in contact. A psychopathic disposition in overseer, manager or worker is bound to leak out in behavior which makes successful management difficult. The type of work that one can carry on efficiently is some-

times a psychiatric problem and the transference of a worker from one field to another proves a decided advantage. It is also true that workers developing serious mental diseases often become a source of trouble in their places of employment during the incipient stages of the oncoming disease. The mental hygiene movement, as it applies itself to the problems of industry, is bound to have a much larger influence than appears merely in difficulties of management. Much of the present industrial unrest is due to unhappy life adjustments on the part of a multitude of persons, and this emotional reaction is a problem that concerns industry, for not only does it constantly operate in producing concrete problems in factory and commercial shop, but it also challenges the industrial system and by agitation perpetuates an ill will and a stressing of differences that forbids the coöperation which must exist between capital and labor if any satisfactory adjustment is to be worked out in modern industry

As greater attention is given to the psychiatric elements in our industrial life there will most certainly develop a growing sense of the need of practical psychiatry in all types of human association. Wherever personalities come in contact there is the same need of a recognition of individual differences that appears in the industrial realm. There is special need of psychiatric testing of persons who wield power. Individuals who have great authority, army and navy officers, prison wardens, teachers, ministers, doctors, capitalists, often spoil their social service by personality defects which they have unconsciously developed, but which in most instances could be revealed to them if only they could be led to face squarely their own attitudes with the understanding that knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene permits.

**Psychiatric social service.**—Psychiatry has influenced professional social work to a considerable extent. By his experience in attempting to assist the patient in meeting his environmental problems, the psychiatrist also has been led to



value the social worker. The result of these two tendencies has been the psychiatric social work carried on by one who has received enough training in psychiatry and allied branches to be able to give the patient the definite supervision needed in the carrying out of the psychiatrist's advice. Psychiatric social work demands personality traits that fit one for dealing with people on a basis of intelligent sympathy and insight, but it also requires specific training. For those who are temperamentally fitted for the work and well trained it offers one of the most interesting and valuable forms of present-day social service.

**Mental hygiene and the school.**—Mental hygiene will come to have an increasing importance for education. Already we have psychiatrists who specialize in problems of college adjustment, thus preventing failures and unhappiness and also discovering in early stages such serious mental diseases as appear among the students of universities. It is, however, in the lower schools, particularly the grade schools, that the psychiatric contributions can be made most useful. The school, like industry, has been guilty of treating the individual in the mass. Even when theory has stated the opposite, practice has frequently paid little attention to variation of personality. Emotional traits are as significant for the school as mental capacity. Psychotic tendencies often show themselves in the conduct of small children in school behavior. The prompt recognition and understanding and treatment of these cases will do much to decrease mental disease, which otherwise would appear in the later life of the individual. Not all mental disease can of course be so prevented, but the mental hygiene contribution, practically utilized in school education, will do as much for mental health as physical hygiene for the decrease of physical disease.

The adolescent period is particularly revealing, and although not so promising for treatment as the earlier period, it is still a hopeful time in many cases for psychiatric prophy-

laxis. It must not be forgotten, however, that the school administrator and school instructor are as human as the child and also at times develop psychopathic tendencies that need expert medical help. Not only would a wider application of psychiatry in our schools aid children in meeting more adequately their life problems, but it also would be of assistance to teachers and school administrators who equally need help and who, because of psychopathic tendencies or unusual environmental strains or the beginning of a serious mental disease, are a real problem in the schools. The whole technique of teaching is likely to be humanized and forced upon a more substantial biological basis by the influence of the science of psychiatry as it turns its attention to the problem of education. Most of our insane patients were once in the schools. At present we do not know to what extent their school career pushed them toward their final breakdown or to how great a degree it tended to keep them in the ways of sanity, but it is reasonable to suppose that when science deliberately attempts to use the school period as a most fruitful opportunity for mental health education the school will become a distributor of mental health.

**The psychiatric viewpoint.**—The science of psychiatry has not only furnished a basis for the mental hygiene movement; it has also demonstrated the importance of interpreting social failures, whether of the individual or the group, from the psychiatric viewpoint. Until very recently there has been little substantial causal grasp of our social problems, applied sociology consisting for the most part of statistical data regarding the size of a social problem, a general description of the character of the problem, statements as to its treatment and philosophizing as to its causes.

Psychiatry has shown the advantage of its causal point of view in handling delinquency, illegitimacy, family incompatibility and other forms of social maladjustment. It has by its stress of causal diagnosis within its own field and by

its insistence upon bringing to the interpretation of any concrete case of maladjustment all information to be had, especially that contributed by its allied sciences, physiology and neurology, directed social science and social work away from mere description and classification and technique to the task of scientific understanding and scientific treatment. The influence of the psychiatric point of view has thus been nothing less than revolutionary, and every form of social thought and social service is showing a changed attitude as a result. Tradition and human nature itself naturally balk against a way of looking at social maladjustment which is so upsetting and so contrary to the human habit of rationalizing social difficulties. Once started, however, science pushes forward in its effort to bring a new field under causal knowledge and sooner or later by its success in dealing with concrete problems convinces the general public of the advantage of its methods. The rapidly developing science of conduct, to which psychiatry has been the chief contributor thus far, is at present in the throes of demonstration. Already we have a new psychology as a consequence; and new attitudes in philanthropy, sociology and education also testify to the progress of this new effort to understand human behavior.

## CHAPTER IV

### MENTAL DEFECT

**Variation in intelligence.**—As soon as anyone begins to deal concretely with other persons, he is forced to recognize great variations in human equipment. Human beings enter life with potential resources that vary enormously. The genius and the idiot represent the two extremes, and the distance between them is so great that no one by the use of the imagination can fathom its complete significance. The genius has always been conspicuous and usually he has received the admiration of his contemporaries. If, as has happened at times in human history, his difference has baffled or irritated the average mind of his time, he has had to wait for the appreciation of a later age than his own. The lowest level has attracted less attention and until recently has been considered little and understood less.

As the science of psychology has emerged from its philosophical origin, the social significance of the different grades of feeble-mindedness has been uncovered. It was toward the end of the last century that science began to show clearly the meaning and importance of the feeble-minded. The feeble-minded individual is one who because of heredity or the mishaps of early life has not been able to develop an average mental capacity; in brain equipment he has from early life suffered handicap. Lacking an average preparation for life, he has found it difficult to adjust himself to the demands of a highly developed modern society. Thus feeble-mindedness produces a condition which makes it impossible for the

afflicted individual to deal adequately with the responsibilities of life that one incurs by being born into present community conditions.

Apparent as the handicap of the feeble-minded is, it is also clear that all social inadequacies can by no means be charged up to lack of mental capacity. Individuals endowed with normal or average brains do not necessarily adjust themselves in a wholesome manner to the demands put upon them by the environment in which they happen to be placed. It is also true that the high grade feeble-minded, given reasonable guidance and protection, are able to deal with a simplified environment so satisfactorily as almost to disguise from the observer that they have any serious defect of mental capacity.

These facts have made it imperative that the mere measurement of intelligence be not made the sole process of estimating the equipment for life of any individual feeble-minded person. Of late, psychology has advanced to the point where it considers, in judging the social adequacy of the mental defective, not only his quantity of mental equipment but also the practical way in which the individual uses such material as he has in his association with others. Experience in dealing with persons having mental defects shows that these personal characteristics greatly help or hinder adjustment. Therefore, in addition to testing for mental age or quantity of mental capacity, the emotional life, the training of early years, the habits acquired, and other elements of the personality in its actual tendencies of behavior must be discovered.<sup>1</sup> Thus science has complicated the meaning of feeble-mindedness. At bottom, however, the problem still remains primarily a deficiency of mental resources due to lack of brain material.

The old threefold classification of the feeble-minded into idiots, imbeciles and morons still persists, because of its usefulness in roughly separating the feeble-minded into group

<sup>1</sup> Bronner, Individual Variations in Mental Equipment, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1920, p. 521.



classes. Dr. Walter E. Fernald used the following classification of mental defects at the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded:—"Idiot—low grade, less than one year; middle grade, one year or more; high grade, two years. Imbecile—low grade, three and four years; middle grade, five years; high grade, six and seven years. Moron—low grade, eight and nine years; middle grade, ten years; high grade, eleven and twelve years."<sup>2</sup> Although this is based on the mental age alone, Dr. Fernald called attention to the fact that this does not by itself permit diagnosis of feeble-mindedness; the intelligence quotient must be taken into account as well as the mental age.

Recently the movement in practical diagnosis has been toward a greater recognition of the social tests of feeble-mindedness. When an individual whose mental age is below the normal competes on equal terms with his normal fellows and shows ordinary judgment in dealing with his life problems it is impossible to leave out his successful record in making life-adjustments when classifying him among the feeble-minded. This does not in any way change the fact of his mental endowment for life or dispute the findings of the psychological tests, but it simply reveals that with the personality traits he happens to have, he is able to make reasonable adaptations in the environment in which he has been.<sup>3</sup>

**The history of the treatment of the feeble-minded.**—A boy, found while in a forest in the center of France and known as "the savage of Aveyron," was taken in hand about 1800 by Itarde, the famous physician-in-chief to the National Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Paris: this was the first attempt known to history to educate an idiot. After five years of skillful instruction Itarde gave up his effort to educate this boy whom he had supposed to be a savage, becoming convinced that the lad was really an idiot.

<sup>2</sup> May, *Mental Diseases*, p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, *The Mentally Retarded Child in the Public Schools*, *Mental Hygiene*, Oct., 1923, p. 764.

A pupil of Itarde, Dr. E. Seguin, in 1837 began at his own expense the private instruction of idiots. As the result of seven years of experience and experiments his work was investigated by a committee from the Academy of Sciences of Paris in 1844, who reported that Seguin had finally solved the problem of educating the idiot. After the revolution in 1848 Dr. Seguin came to this country, where he had much to do with establishing schools for idiots in various states. He also published his famous treatise on idiocy which became the standard textbook for students of the education of idiots.

After considerable effort by forward-looking individuals in both New York and Massachusetts there started in 1848 in Massachusetts the first state institution for the feeble-minded in this country. Dr. Seguin had a large part in the determining of the policy of this school, which was known as The Massachusetts School for Idiots and Feeble-minded Youth. New York followed Massachusetts, and in 1855 Pennsylvania inaugurated its present extensive work for the feeble-minded, at Elwyn.

In 1887 Dr. Walter E. Fernald became the superintendent of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, at that time located in South Boston. Although insufficiently equipped and furnished, and with a most imperfect program for dealing with the feeble-minded, this institution was exceedingly fortunate in its choice of superintendent; in his more than thirty years of service Dr. Fernald played an important rôle in the development of institutional care for the feeble-minded in this country and even in foreign lands.

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The history of the treatment of feeble-mindedness falls roughly into five periods. In the first, science, having won confidence from its spectacular results in the case of the Cretin, turned its attention to the possible cure of the feeble-minded. As soon as it became apparent, as it quickly did, that from the nature of the problem feeble-mindedness was not curable, as science had no way of causing brain growth,

attention was given to the training of the feeble-minded; in the early part of this program stress was placed upon the intellectual development. It was in the spirit of this effort that the Massachusetts institution was called The School for the Feeble-minded. When it was finally admitted that the most skillful instruction could not make substantial progress in the intellectual training of the feeble-minded, workers in this field focused on the physical training, with far greater success.

Later the third period developed, in which the importance of heredity was greatly magnified, and as the result of experience with difficult and lower types of the feeble-minded in institutions the doctrine of the feeble-minded as a social menace reached its climax. Because of the study made of the type of feeble-minded that drifted into the institutions, with a temporary neglect of the less troublesome feeble-minded, out at liberty in community life, a crusade started for the elimination of the feeble-minded. Some stressed the use of sterilization as a means of stopping the transmission of defective germ plasm, while others turned to the alternative program of life segregation or at least of segregation during the child-bearing period, with especial attention to the need of custodial care of women. As science came to have better knowledge of feeble-mindedness, and as a result of more thorough observation, it was soon found that the number of feeble-minded was so great that segregation could not provide an adequate solution of the problem. Fortunately it was also recognized that a large number of the feeble-minded did not require permanent custodial care, but did need suitable training for life. In consequence of this new attitude toward feeble-mindedness industrial training was stressed. Efforts were made also to get normal individuals to realize the responsibility of the community for its members who are less adequately equipped for life. It was found from actual experience that the feeble-minded in the higher grades could con-

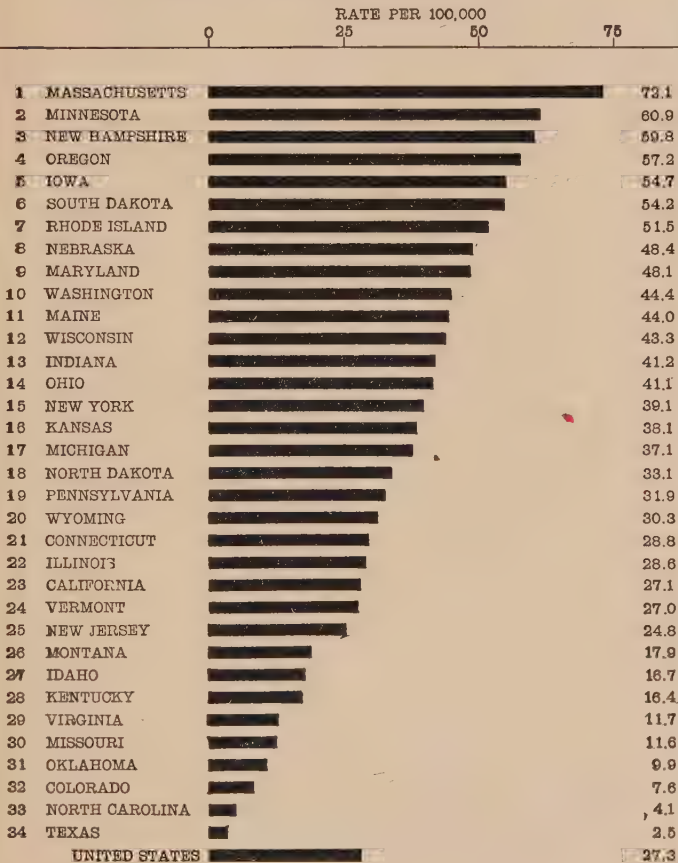
tribute much of value to social life, especially in occupations such as farming and domestic service. There developed from the increasing popular knowledge as to the meaning of feeble-mindedness a growing service on the part of schools for the feeble-minded and psychological clinics in training parents to take care of their feeble-minded children so that they might not be a social menace and might not require the custodial care of institutions.

The work of the various states in caring for the feeble-minded in 1921, and the relative position of each state in its recognition of this class of defectives and its provision for them is shown by Chart VI on page 115. The only states in the Union at present making no separate provision for the feeble-minded are: Arizona, Arkansas, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah.

**Past emphasis upon heredity.**—It is important that the old idea, so commonly held, that feeble-mindedness was almost always a result of bad heredity, be replaced by our present understanding of the actual facts. Many families, not knowing the change that science has made as a result of increased knowledge of feeble-mindedness, suffer unduly from a feeling of disgrace which is based upon the thought that their family descent contains a hereditary taint. It was not strange that inheritance should have seemed so significant in the pioneering days of the study of feeble-mindedness. Those who drifted into the institutions were generally the most difficult cases of the feeble-minded. Degenerate families furnished a large portion of this type. Children from families less tainted came to the institutions because of vicious disposition or some special difficulty which made it imperative that they have expert supervision. Naturally the feeble-minded in the institutions were studied first and the hereditary trait showed so clearly in this selected group of the feeble-minded that the theory developed that all mental defect was primarily the outcropping of bad inheritance; even feeble-mindedness plainly

CHART VI<sup>4</sup>

Feeble-minded in State Institutions for the Feeble-minded  
in the United States, with Rates per 100,000 of  
General Population January 1, 1920



<sup>4</sup> Anderson, Education of Mental Defectives, *Mental Hygiene*, Jan., 1921, p. 86.



of accidental origin was interpreted as the effect of a mild form of hereditary defect, brought to the surface by the occasion of special stress.

At the present time it is impossible to determine the amount of feeble-mindedness that must be charged to hereditary defect transmitted by faulty germ plasm, and that entirely due to accidents or disease. The feeble-minded whose inheritance is obviously defective fall into three classes: those families that usually transmit mental deficiency, those that occasionally transmit mental deficiency, and those in which it rarely appears. The Kallikak family is one of our best illustrations of a family history that persists in showing mental deficiency. In such a record it is evident that the difficulty is one of heredity.

It matters not, as far as the individual is concerned, whether he is born with a brain which can not develop to normal proportions, or whether his developing brain is arrested by a blow or by some brain infection. In either case he has an inadequate brain equipment for the ordeals of life. From a family viewpoint, however, the source of the individual's mental defectiveness is a matter of moment, and as the present mental hygiene program brings about a general recognition of the various causes of feeble-mindedness, a crushing load will be lifted from those families that, without a history of hereditary defect, have felt the cruel condescension or suspicion of neighbors and friends on account of the presence of a feeble-minded child whose deficiency resulted from some environmental influence. Meningitis, blows on the head, and especially birth injuries are among the common causes of feeble-mindedness that are not connected with bad heredity.

**The importance of early training.**—Our realization of the great importance of teaching feeble-minded children good habits makes it necessary to show parents and others who have to do with feeble-minded children in their early years the need of building up the right sort of behavior. The

feeble-minded child is likely to display in exaggerated form any of the bad social traits that come from unwise or deficient early training. It was found in our institutions that children committed because of vicious or criminal tendencies are largely victims of wrong treatment, especially in their homes; when put under the discipline of an orderly régime which classifies its tasks and carries on its routine with a semi-military precision, these children quickly become well-behaved, and when later trusted to go back into the everyday life of the outside world on parole, in a considerable number of cases they make good. The Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded has had men of this sort, with the advantage of its training, who are paying a state income tax on account of the size of their earnings. It was the plan of the late Walter E. Fernald, superintendent of this institution, to place on the school campus a monument inscribed with the names of ninety former inmates who met faithfully and with success the tests of military service in the Army and Navy of the United States during the World War.

A still greater number of feeble-minded persons are being helped by the outdoor work of our institutions for the feeble-minded and by the psychological clinics that instruct parents in the training of their defective children for good adjustment, not only in the family life but to a considerable degree in the life of the community. This represents an enormous saving to the different commonwealths, since it makes unnecessary the institutional care of a large number of the feeble-minded; even more, it affords social relief to our schools and communities, by preventing many a feeble-minded boy or girl from becoming a social menace. The school, by its acknowledgment of the insufficient mental capacity of the feeble-minded, by its special classes and more flexible treatment of the feeble-minded, is doing its part to make the social burden of feeble-mindedness less than it otherwise would be.

No social policy can eliminate the problem of mental

deficiency. Feeble-minded children are certain to be born, and modern humanitarianism makes it necessary for society to meet its obligation to them. It is encouraging that experience unmistakably demonstrates that the great majority of feeble-minded children can be trained to a degree of usefulness and can be prevented from being socially dangerous. Our institutions are crowded, and the courts as well as the families concerned are frequently reluctant to commit the feeble-minded person to an institution. Psychological tests have demonstrated the presence in the community of a much larger number of individuals of low mentality than was once supposed.

All of these facts show the need of stressing the treatment of the feeble-minded out of the institutions, leaving to the latter the care of the vicious, the untrained, the sickly, the so-called *hospital cases*, and the adults who, by their untidiness and helplessness, lay such a burden on the home.

**Exploitation of the feeble-minded.**—Social life has to be standardized to the average intelligence. It is too much to ask that any community regulate its doings on the basis of what would be most desirable for its feeble-minded. Although social conditions must reflect the needs of the average citizen, we can go a long distance without injury to the well-being of the normal person in making communities safer for the mentally deficient. In the past there has been too little regard for the feelings of the feeble-minded. The backward and defective child has been permitted to enter into competition that could only magnify his social inferiority. The higher type of feeble-minded is sensitive to the attitude of those who treat him with scant respect, and resents it; he undertakes task after task, each time seeing his efforts defeated. The wonder is that he does not more often become sullen and anti-social. If the work given him corresponds to his possibility of achievement, he has the same sense of satisfaction that the normal person enjoys from his successes. Progress

in the teaching of the feeble-minded centers upon the appreciation of this fact. So long as a mentally defective individual is not assigned work beyond his powers, he enters heartily upon efforts that bring him success and give him a feeling of self-respect.

Although we now see that prostitution is not, to the extent once believed, a problem of feeble-mindedness, it is true that for many a feeble-minded girl sex offers the easiest way out of feelings of inferiority due to demands for social adaptation beyond her power. In the rural environment illegitimacy often lies at the end of the blind alley of physical attractiveness, which seems to offer the sensitive feeble-minded girl a way of escape from her status of social inferiority; especially when her bodily charms win flattery from a man does she feel that at last she is receiving the admiration her greatest efforts had never been able to evoke from schoolmates, teachers, neighbors or employers: unprecedented consideration and approval join hands with the force of her own impulses to rush her to her doom.

Suggestion, of course, operates with great pressure upon the feeble-minded person who comes under its influence. Occasionally crime is committed by the feeble-minded, acting under suggestion. In the case of imbeciles, suggestion has sometimes caused conduct with practically no motive at all, so far as the doer is concerned; he simply carried out the suggestion of a stronger person, so that he might win the approval of his associate.

In spite of pathological illustrations of conscienceless persons who have taken advantage of the mental inferiority of feeble-minded individuals for their own selfish purposes, there can be no doubt that the community is increasingly aware of the need of protecting the feeble-minded, and public opinion is less tolerant of those who attempt exploitation.

**The social contribution of the feeble-minded.**—The period of pessimism with reference to the mentally deficient has

passed. Those who have the responsibility of administration of our institutions for the feeble-minded are more and more gratified by the utility of the service performed by the feeble-minded. In the early history of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded some of the boys were provided with the task of moving stones from one part of the grounds to another and back again; today at the school's farm colony at Templeton, feeble-minded boys raise all the vegetables used by the institution, a consumption which amounted last year to a ton a day. In addition to work on the farm a large proportion of both boys and girls work at useful trades in building, construction, the making of utensils and the domestic service of the institution. Most hopeful of all are the men and women out on parole who, after training at the school, meet the test of self-support either fully or to a large extent.

One of the best illustrations of the contribution of the feeble-minded is the wage colonies developed by Charles Bernstein, superintendent of the Rome State School, at Rome, New York. Dr. Bernstein has worked out his program for both sexes, the males working on farms, while the females do housework or work in mills. The following is part of a report made by Mr. Stanley P. Davies, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Hygiene of the New York State Charities, after a visit to some of these boys who were on parole at farms:

"Starting out from the Rome institution one morning to visit colonies at Hamilton and Oriskany Falls, some twenty miles distant, the writer, with the special parole agent for the boys, visited the boys who happened to be working for farmers along the roads traversed. Entirely unselected instances as they were, the interviews with the boys and the farmers were indicative of the situation generally.

"At the first place we found the boy, a youth of about eighteen with a mental age of 9, turning to and helping the 'Mrs.' with the washing. The farmer was away. The woman



said he was a willing helper. He ordinarily worked on the farm, but assisted with the heavy work about the house, too. We asked permission to speak with the boy alone. We talked to him confidentially and he apparently was entirely frank with us. 'Would you like to go on a better farm?' we asked, a question which usually draws out from a boy any sign of discontentment or dissatisfaction with his present place. The boy spoke in a very clear and straightforward manner. He couldn't think of leaving here now. It was a small farm and some day he might like to go on a bigger one. 'But, you see, the man isn't very well and he couldn't get along without me right now. I do most of the work running the farm. He just tells me what to do. No, I've got to run this place. I wouldn't want to leave.' Asked what he did for a good time, the boy said: 'Oh, I like it here. We get to bed early and up early in the morning and there is plenty of work. They treat me fine and I don't get lonesome.' The boy's good sense and his feeling of loyalty and responsibility to the farm and the farmer were to the writer at the time quite unexpected findings.

"At the next place, we found the boy working for a family that conducted a country boarding place in a little cross-roads hamlet. When they had taken the boy, these people had been on a farm, but had within a few months opened the boarding house. The boy here was twenty-four years old with a mental age of 8. He was of the backward, reticent type, and had some speech difficulty. The boy had some outside chores such as caring for the chickens and working in the garden. Most of the time, however, he helped the 'lady' with the housework. The woman spoke highly of the boy; said she liked him and that they had in every way tried to make him feel that he was a member of the family. He was a 'good' boy, could work well, and was entirely trustworthy. Since they moved in from the farm, however, she had been having considerable difficulty from time to time to get the boy to stick to the housework, and occasionally he had refused to mind. She had just had a little argument with him that morning about doing some work in the kitchen. The boy was present during this conversation and when asked to speak, he slowly gave us his side of it. He

hated housework; didn't like to fool around with things in the kitchen. He wished he was back on the farm. He liked 'the heaviest kind of work,' but not housework. He was willing to stay here as long as the 'Doctor' (the Superintendent, Dr. Bernstein) thought he ought to, but he would like to be on a farm. He said there was 'too much just standing around' about his present job. The woman verified this feeling on the part of the boy. She said he disappeared early one afternoon, and when he did not return by the time of the evening meal, they started a search. They discovered him on a nearby farm, having his meal with the 'help.' The boy had gone out for an afternoon's good time and had accordingly volunteered his services in helping to pitch hay all the afternoon. The boy's desire for more hard work was duly reported to the institution so that he might be given an opportunity for full self-expression on a farm.

"At the next stop we saw the farmer, but not the boy. The farmer explained that the boy in question had been with him three years. He was greatly pleased with his work and he had been a big help on the place. The boy needed direction, but once told what to do, he went ahead and did it. He stuck to business and was steady and reliable. One morning recently the boy did not appear for breakfast at the regular time and it was found that he had quietly left with all his belongings. There had been no difficulty with the farmer. In fact, the farmer said he was not altogether surprised. The boy had intimated more than once that he thought he ought to get out and make his own way in the world. And the farmer, although he was not a party to the boy's running away, said he did not blame him a bit. He wished the boy every success and he believed, with the excellent qualities he had shown on the farm, he would find it. In such a case as this the institution would make every endeavor to locate the boy, but if it found him well employed, in a good living place, and surrounded by proper influences, would not force him to go back, but would either continue his parole in the new place or discharge him and let him try it on his own. Even if discharged, however, the insti-

tution would endeavor to keep in touch with him and his friends to see that all went well.

"One other farm was visited. Here the farmer and the boy were interviewed separately. The farmer said the boy had proved himself entirely satisfactory in every respect but one. He lied habitually. The boy had been here two years and apparently the farmer took a great interest in him. The lying did not seem to interfere with the boy's usefulness and the farmer's concern about it was from the standpoint of the boy himself. The boy came in from the fields to see us. We spoke to him about his biggest fault. The boy said he realized the lying was a bad thing and that he wanted to get over it. He said he knew he would have to make good here before he could be sent home and that he was trying hard to learn how to tell the truth. He did not want to go to any other farm, he said, but wanted to stay right here until he had done so well that the 'Doctor' would be willing to send him home. He said his brother was running a farm on Long Island and he wanted to go to work for him.

"At this last farm, we happened to meet the family physician on his rounds and stopped to chat with him. A physician modern in training and bearing, driving an up-to-the-minute motor car, his practice is that of the country doctor and covers most of the farming section through which we had passed. Many of the families he visited had employed boys from Rome year after year. What impression did he get, we asked, of these boys and the whole parole plan? The doctor replied that so far as he could ascertain the system worked out unusually well. He had found in most places the best of feeling between the farmer and the farmer's family and the boy. The boys themselves had done very well. They were a great help on the farms and he found the farmers glad to get their services. The boys had also conducted themselves in splendid fashion and he had heard of no serious difficulty on the behavior side. He believed it was a plan that should be further continued and extended. It was evident that he spoke not only from a knowledge of the work, but from a keen interest in it, and that his

observation, therefore, had been as close as his opinion was frank.”<sup>5</sup>

The same author describes the mill work of the girls paroled from the Rome school:

“The mill where the girls were employed was visited, however, and the assistant superintendent who had immediate charge of the section in which the colony girls worked was interviewed. This assistant superintendent was familiar with the work which the colony girls had done from their first employment in this mill in 1917, and he was glad to answer questions about them. We suggested that of course the colony girls had been the first to be laid off when work became slack. No, he told us, the fact was many others had been let go before any of the colony girls were given notice. Among the comparatively few workers who had been retained, four were colony girls. He showed us these girls at their work. They would certainly not have been picked out without his assistance. Three were inspecting the finished garments, one was running a sewing machine. Naturally, we said, the colony girls only did the simpler kinds of work. No, he replied, while the majority did inspecting, various colony girls had successfully performed every operation in this part of the mill. The colony girl who was working on the sewing machine was one of his best operators, he said. Comparing the run of colony girls with normal girls, and judging by the piecework earnings, quality of work, etc., how efficient, we asked, were the colony girls? At least 75 per cent efficient on the average, he said, and more so in many cases. We intimated that naturally he had to make some allowances for the colony girls, that because of temperament, indisposition, misconduct, or what not, they were more likely to be irregular in their attendance, late in arrival, needing time off, etc. Our other questions had brought a slight smile from this quite reticent man; this brought a very broad smile and a less laconic answer than usual. That idea was all wrong, he said. You could set the time clock by the colony girls. They were there on the dot and they stuck

<sup>5</sup> Bernstein, *Colony and Parole Care for Dependents and Defectives, Mental Hygiene, July, 1923*, pp. 455-58.

until the whistle blew. They could be depended upon much more than the girls from town. During the working hours, moreover, the colony girls had their minds on their work and did not indulge in as much gossip and daydreaming as some of their normal sisters. Would the mill want the full quota of colony girls back as soon as orders permitted full operation? Among the first, was his answer.

"This was the opinion of a mill man whose prime interest was very apparently in production. It may, therefore, be taken as an impartial economic opinion of the girls' usefulness and characteristics. Without doubt, considerable credit for the faithful attendance and close application to work of the colony girls is due to the colony régime and discipline. Without doubt, credit also goes to those well-known traits of the 'good' type of the feeble-minded, loyalty, faithfulness, and perseverance.

"In the industrial colony, the girls compete on an even footing with regular labor; that is, they do the same kind of work, have the same hours, work side by side with regular workers, and receive the same piecework rate of pay. If the feeble-minded girl is as proficient as the normal girl working beside her, she receives the same amount in her pay envelope at the end of the week."<sup>6</sup>

On the basis of a program which has demonstrated its practicality with such magnificent success, Dr. Bernstein is surely justified in stating his conviction:

"We are more firmly than ever of the opinion that from one-third to one-half of all the mentally defective persons who need state care can be provided for under a reasonable system of colony and parole care and supervision. As we see the situation in most large institutions, the daily routine work of the institution is not sufficient to provide adequate employment for the patients. Many of them will always be found sitting around inactive and listless and so gradually deteriorating, while many others will be greatly disturbed and troublesome, their unused energy going to waste or seeking an outlet in

<sup>6</sup> Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-67.



destructiveness. We are convinced, as a result of seventeen years of experience, that this energy can be turned into useful channels. Boys and girls who are capable of becoming self-supporting even to the extent of paying for their own supervision should not be deprived of the right to exercise their capacities, nor should the community be deprived of their services. In our opinion, no large institution for mentally defective persons that does not institute a policy of parole and discharge for favorable cases is doing its full duty by its patients, the state, and the public; and no such policy can be made as widely applicable and as successful as it should be without a system of colony supervision during the rehabilitation period for individuals who have no suitable home and no relatives who can be depended upon to befriend and supervise them.”<sup>7</sup>

**The feeble-minded in education.**—The feeble-minded have in the past been a very grievous burden for public instruction; their presence in the classes, particularly when they have been carried on from grade to grade by the mere process of lingering at the school, has created some baffling intricacies of school adjustment. It must not be forgotten that in spite of its perplexities the problem of the feeble-minded has contributed to the advancement of education, by forcing perception of the differences in mental capacity, the recognition of which has been important not only for the happiness of the feeble-minded, but also for the welfare of the so-called normal child who has his individual variations that need to be taken into account in educational procedure.

The work of science in dealing with the Cretin brought out in spectacular form the significance of the endocrine glands. The value of this side of our human equipment is only beginning to be appreciated by medical science and by psychology.

Feeble-mindedness in our schools has been a constant reminder that the mind-life of the child is intimately connected

<sup>7</sup> Bernstein, Colony and Parole Care for Dependents and Defectives, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, p. 470.

with physical states. We have come to the point where we at least see the necessity of adjusting school work to brain capacity and without doubt in the near future much more will be made of the emotional life and especially its close relationship to the endocrine system of the body.

Thus the feeble-minded have repaid in part the attention demanded by them of our schools. They have served to keep persistently before educators the necessity of dealing with the human individual in his entirety. There is a natural disposition on the part of teachers and school administrators to conceive of their task as mere mind-training. The feeble-minded, by their limitations, have testified to the need of regarding the mind in its true light, as an instrument for adjustment whose functioning is absolutely conditioned by all the factors that constitute the personality, both physical and mental. It has been no small advantage to formal education that the significance of mental defect, not only as an illustration of the operation of causes that influence personality but also as an example of the social consequences of individual limitation, has forced the attention of educators. Feeble-mindedness has not been altogether a social liability.

## CHAPTER V

### MODERN CONDITIONS INFLUENCING FAMILY LIFE

**Social importance of the family.**—In our study of modern social conditions we naturally stress the family because of the great social importance of the home. The biological significance of the family is apparent to everyone. During the historical development of man the home has been necessary for human survival. Even the higher animals can not pass safely through infancy to maturity without nurture that suggests the family life of humans. In its need of care the human infant is as helpless as any animal. This attention which it needs from birth is best provided for by the family.

The social significance of the home is equally great. The full meaning of the home as a social influence appears when we recognize what the experiences of its first years in the home do to the child. Next to heredity there is nothing so important for the child as what happens to it in its home environment. The early impressions are bound to be deep and abiding.

These first influences, largely furnished by the home associations, especially modify the child's behavior. It is in the child's attitudes toward others, his social conduct, that we can see in greatest measure the effects of his home environment. Therefore the home is now as important socially as it is biologically. Science has only recently revealed in concrete form the causal influences of the home upon the personality of the child. The power of the home to form the character of the child has always been recognized since the

time that society has been able to understand its own processes. Doubtless in earlier periods, even before the coming of civilization, the home actually exercised a social influence upon the offspring in their years of infancy. Now that science is beginning to uncover in detail the working of these home influences that make or mar the child's personality we can see more clearly than ever before the social importance of the family. It follows that the student of social conditions is most vitally interested in problems that affect the home.

**Family influenced by social conditions.**—It is clear that family life is in reciprocal relation to the larger social life in which it occupies a commanding position. All social conditions affect the family just as it in turn influences every kind of social experience. Conditions of public health, education or industry, for example, immediately operate upon family life. A contaminated water supply and the prevalence of epidemics may put such a strain on the family that its energies are largely concerned with the bare problem of physical survival. With the children robbed of their vitality by disease, and the parents worn out by extra work and anxiety, such a family functions unsatisfactorily. When education is very difficult to obtain, or is narrow or trivial in its character, the family life is apt to be very self-centered because of its meagerness of outlook and poverty of understanding. Industrial conditions that sap the strength of one or both parents, and perhaps of the children themselves, hamper the development of family life.

It is equally true that the family situation in one generation is bound to have a definite influence upon the home-life of the succeeding generation.

The family always has been sensitive to the social influences that society as a whole has put upon it, and it has varied with reference to marriage customs, social functions, and moral standards as a consequence of variations in social conditions. It follows, therefore, that the family of today is

both influencing social conduct and is itself being influenced by a multitude of social conditions.

Indeed the present status of the family is most difficult to define. Family conditions appear to be changing rapidly and perhaps fundamentally, even though we who are in the midst of the changes are only at times and in part conscious of what is taking place.

With reference to certain details of home life people are everywhere realizing that changes have taken place in our manners of life and that other changes are in the process of being made. We are prone to think of the home itself as a comparatively stable institution which in spite of new forms of expression is at heart just what it has been. The family is sometimes thought of as a stable, unchanging social institution that remains essentially the same whatever changes come about in the other elements of society. There is nothing to justify this idea, for history, and the deductions of the anthropologist based upon the study of primitive savage society, alike affirm that family life has taken many forms.

Our proneness to think of the family as remaining as it once was, in spite of its actual changes, because we can not put aside our own childhood home experiences and see the present home life uncolored by our personal prejudices or inclinations, keeps us from getting a fair view of the family as it is at present functioning in our society. Each generation has always been deceived by childhood impressions in its effort to judge the family life of its time. Our generation has more than the usual difficulty, however, because social changes affecting family life have come so rapidly in recent years and have so greatly modified all of the habits and traditions that have to do with the home.

To the degree that we free ourselves from the tendency to find in the present family what we idealize as a result of our personal, childhood experiences, we detect family changes taking place that are certainly as socially significant as any



trend in modern social life. It is much easier to realize that these changes are taking place than it is to discuss with certainty the immediate goal toward which contemporary family evolution moves. The purpose of this chapter is to uncover the social conditions that are now working upon the family and causing it to change.

**Education and changes in family life.**—Education is intimately concerned with the changes that are taking place in the family, for the power to direct these changes for social welfare is primarily in the hands of education. Any considerable failure on the part of the family to direct child life in a wholesome manner means putting greater and unnecessary burdens upon the schools.

The mere process of instruction is also responsive to the general social conditions that affect the family, and influences that operate against wholesome family life will equally work against school success. The teacher therefore has especial need of knowing the state of the family, the social influences that tend to modify it, the direction in which its changes move, and the significance of these changes for those who teach.

**Urban trend of civilization.**—The trend of people away from rural conditions toward town and city life was one of the outstanding social phenomena of the nineteenth century. Thus far in the twentieth, the same flow of the population toward urban centers has gone on with increasing intensity. Although the completed report of the 1920 census has not yet been made, preliminary tabulations disclose the fact that we are now as a nation more urban than rural. The present situation is treated in greater detail in Chapter thirteen.

The increase of the urban population is of course not confined to the United States. It is a world tendency, found wherever the country as a whole has come under the dominant influences of modern civilization. It is even more marked in some of the older European countries than in the United States. England, for instance, has been growing more and

more urban ever since the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century started the drift from the country to the towns.

In estimating this urban tendency of our population with reference to its influence upon family life, it is not enough to take account of the number of people who dwell in urban, as compared with those in rural environments. The greater meaning of this urbanizing of modern life appears when we notice the wide-spread dominance of the urban culture. Urban ideals, standards of life, indeed all the psychic products of urban association, are passing out into the rural sections and influencing more and more the thinking, habits and standards of rural people. This does not mean necessarily a deterioration in the social life of rural people, but it does denote a relative decrease of distinctively rural culture and its replacement by influences originated in the urban setting.

As a consequence of this we notice in the family as in the government and other social institutions that the signs of urban influence are far greater than we should expect from the numerical superiority of our urban population. Our thinking, our habits, our recreation, our standards, all our social conduct, in short, that affects family life is largely city-made, even though a large proportion of the people who are dominated by these ideals still live in the country. We must therefore expect to find in the city those tendencies that are most characteristic of the home in our period of time and most likely, unless counter influences are set in motion, to form the standard or typical home of the immediate future.

**Passing of the homestead.**—Most American adults of the present day were born and brought up in what may best be described as the homestead type of house. This was a one-family house standing by itself on at least a small plot of land. It afforded seclusion and privacy for the family. It also fixed upon the family a responsibility for conditions of land and house that even the casual passerby recognized and

judged. Such houses were common in the village. Even in the city they were found. In the country there was no other kind, but there the land was a farm; in the city, a small lot with neighbors close at hand.

In our thinking of the abode of family life we naturally regard this house of our childhood as the American standard, but it is steadily disappearing, and in its place we find the flat, the apartment or even the family hotel. Homestead conditions are abnormal in the urban environment; not only are they expensive, they also deny to the home-dwellers that freedom from homekeeping tasks which is one of the necessities for those who attempt to get the full social benefit of urban life. The dwelling-house for most city people must be one that restricts the home as compared with the former homestead type. Due to congestion of population, expense of building and maintenance, and for some because of the desire to be rid of individual heating and the irksome household cares, the home is adjusting itself to narrower quarters and lately is accepting a dwelling-place that makes impossible the sense of individual responsibility of the family that lives by itself and has control of its own surroundings as did the family in the homestead. The responsibility which the public formerly fixed upon the family is now distributed among landlord, agent, tenants and the officials of the community administration itself.

The urbanite even when he lives in a one-family type of house maintains a home-equipment that is a compromise between the former homestead type and the flat of the congested city. One may easily discover for himself the handicap placed upon the large homestead dwelling in the suburb by finding from the real estate agent how cheap this kind of house is and how difficult to sell. It is startling also to discover in suburbs about our great cities how many families live in hotels or at least take their meals there. Such families are influenced in their manner of home life not by financial

consideration but by inability or unwillingness to continue so much of the task of separate housekeeping.

The flat, the apartment and the hotel provide family conditions that are characteristic of urban life, and the city in its social conduct adjusts itself to the demands of such homes. The homestead family life would be socially as difficult to maintain in the city as it would be economically expensive.

**Lack of former seclusion.**—The social life of the home has to accommodate itself to its physical equipment and in this way the inner life of the family changes. For example the city family can not have the seclusion of the homestead. It finds itself in close contact with others with whom it may or may not have sympathetic relationships. The family privacy enjoyed by the homestead has, as the student of rural life recognizes, its unsocial and unwholesome possibilities.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, however, it has been socially advantageous.

The strain put upon the home that tries to maintain itself in crowded quarters or under conditions that forbid the reasonable degree of privacy necessary for family home-consciousness is all too well known by social workers in our cities. A house can not provide adequate conditions for a home unless it is closed against outsiders to permit the growth of a sense of home-exclusiveness.<sup>2</sup>

If the homestead over-emphasized this exclusiveness and brought to the home the dangers of extreme self-interest, clannishness and neighborhood feuds, the present housing situation in our most crowded sections of the cities offers the opposite menace. The family life suffers from a sense of intrusion from the outside simply because the house can not provide complete privacy. Crowding injures the family life itself. It may even destroy its happiness and drive the various members into unsympathetic attitudes toward each other. A workingman's wife is reported to have said, "The reason

<sup>1</sup> Groves, *Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup> Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 325.

we don't love each other as we should is because we don't have room; we crowd each other." <sup>3</sup>

No better testimony than that of Francis Place can be had concerning the difficulty of maintaining a high level of family life amid the discomforts of a congested household. "Nothing conduces so much to the degradation of a man and woman in the opinion of each other, and of themselves in all respects—but most especially of the woman—than her having to eat and drink, and cook and wash and iron, and transact all her domestic concerns, in the room in which her husband works, and in which they sleep. In some cases men and women are so ignorant and brutal that this mode of life is of no moment to them; but to those who have ever so small a share of information, and consequently of refinement, it is a terrible grievance, and produces sad consequences." <sup>4</sup>

One of the ethical influences of the homestead family life of great social worth was the emphasis upon family responsibility and family pride. The modern urban type of home life can not provide similar opportunities for training in family responsibility. The difference between the urban and rural attitude toward property rights is a good illustration of one of the results of decreasing family responsibilities.

Ordinarily the country boy and girl very early in life produce something of their own. They are also taught by their parents the meaning of property because the family life is so related to property rights. In rural sections everywhere we find that country people feel very differently about property and property rights than do city people. Imagine the effect that living in a flat or an apartment has upon young people with reference to their idea of property rights and responsibilities. The child brought up in the apartment or flat usually has few belongings and almost nothing of any consequence that he has made himself. The selfmade radio

<sup>3</sup> Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, Vol. 3, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place*, p. 11.



set has been a boon to the city child, for it has given him a new opportunity to enjoy the ownership of things made by his own hands. His parents often have no possessions that are of very great importance; they do not own the place they live in; they are not responsible for the condition of the house as country people are. They are simply jobbers, so to speak, so far as their family habitation is concerned, easily moved about and generally reluctant to take over any decided responsibility as they make their sojourn in one place this year, in another place next year.

**Stress upon public resources.**—The property that these urban young people have most contact with is public. People do not have so keen a sense of the value of public property as they do of personal possessions. The urban and suburban child must find their social needs satisfied primarily by what the community provides. They are therefore driven by their experience from early childhood to put more and more stress upon communistic and social forms of recreation and enterprise, and the meaning of personal property takes a very small place in their lives. They look to the community for public privilege that will in some degree offer substitutes for what under different circumstances the home would provide. They miss the joy of construction and ownership to a considerable extent; perhaps in just the proportion that they are denied these experiences do they gravitate toward a property attitude that is essentially communistic. This is one of several reasons why socialism wins a larger following in the city than in rural districts.

In the next generation of city trained persons we must expect to find a stronger trend toward communistic life, greater reluctance to accept individualistic tendencies, and a far less serious regard for property rights than exists at present, because, in this country at least, most of our city people grew up in villages and country places, where their childhood was dominated by rural conditions, and they have

not lost completely the influence of these first impressions.

**The child hampered in play.**—It is especially in relation to the play of children in our congested quarters that we can see the necessity of depending upon resources provided by the community. The home, even the neighborhood, is so destitute of opportunities for meeting the play needs of the child that he must depend almost entirely upon public playgrounds and other community facilities, or go without any adequate satisfaction for his deepest childhood craving.

The moving-picture house reaps a profitable harvest from the play-poverty of the city child. In spite of its intense appeal, the movie is a mere substitute for activity which the child wishes to express, but for which he has little opportunity. It is clear that meager play resources lead many city children toward delinquency.<sup>5</sup> Unlawful games, such as "flipping trains," provide excitement and rivalry which the boy in a more suitable environment would find in sports. It is a step forward that the city has recently been providing increasing play spaces for the under-privileged child. Adult society must recognize not only the great need of permitting children to play, since without play childhood can be neither happy nor wholesome, but it must also face squarely the fact that the city child has to depend more and more upon the municipality for play resources. The city home is under an evergrowing handicap as far as giving to the child space or equipment for play is concerned.

If one will watch children at play in city streets—for parks and playgrounds have not yet removed from the city child the temptation to play in the street—he will soon become conscious of the impression children are constantly getting of adult interference, even tyranny from the child's viewpoint. Fussy, unimaginative, overtired, soured, or child-hating individuals are constantly demanding that the police

<sup>5</sup> Breckenridge and Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, p. 9.

stop this or forbid that. The police are occasionally unsympathetic and anxious to enforce their authority. The child, it must be remembered, has no vote. Politicians do not greatly care about the interests of non-voters. The one great game for growing youth may become an effort to beat the forces of authority and thus crime gets started in an environment, giving no other outlet for submerged playspirit.

“To fail to provide for the recreation of youth is not only to deprive all of them of their natural form of expression, but is certain to subject some of them to the overwhelming temptation of illicit and soul-destroying pleasures. To insist that young people shall forecast their rose-colored future only in a house of dreams is to deprive the real world of that warmth and reassurance which it so sorely needs and to which it is justly entitled.”<sup>6</sup>

**Family life under competition.**—The disability of the city family looking to outside assistance for the play provision of its children is a good illustration of the competition that the urban family at present faces in its effort to function as a home. If there is any part of the family life that has a very significant influence on character it is the normal recreation of a wholesome family. In the country at least, in the past, these functions have been exercised by parents. It has been true that unless the family could provide recreation there was apt to be little. Today, however, because of the handicap put upon the family by its habitation there is meager opportunity for the family to provide recreation.

The members of the family distribute themselves to the theater, to the movies, to the public playground, to some commercial or institutional enterprise, for their recreation, and this experience feeds still more that excessive gregarious tendency which thoughtful psychologists think is one of the most dangerous tendencies of modern life. There is nothing

<sup>6</sup> Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, p. 103.

to demonstrate that the family is ever going to have back again the normal degree of its recreational function.

This farming out of recreation divides the members of the family in their interests. Some go to the theater, some to the library, some to the movies: it is very seldom that the entire family goes to one thing. In country life the normal thing is for all the family to go together to the same place for their recreation; in city life this is the abnormal or unexpected thing. The children go to one place, father and mother to another, or it may be that no two members of the family go to the same place.

The father's occupation separates him from his children during the day. The children's school work means less to the parents in detail than it once did, because parents have so many other interests. The result is that the home is forced to be more or less a gathering place for sleeping and perhaps a part of the time for eating, and for a small amount of social life. The normal relationships that have the most significant influence upon human personality are largely dissolved, and it is not strange that those opposed to the family say they do not need to attack the family since it is passing rapidly and can not continue in its present form.

Health, morals, religion, all the fundamental social attitudes and relationships that affect childhood are being studied and directed with ever greater efficiency by the expert than by the average present-day parent. The more true this is, the greater the temptation of reformers and social workers to stress organizations that can do successfully tasks that formerly belonged primarily to the home.

**Changes in family function.**—There is general agreement that the family came as a result of the need of caring for offspring. It was built upon the needs of the child's nurture and protection. It is also true that the modern city has always had a lower birth rate and a greater number of families

without children than has the country. Giddings has expressed this in his definition of the vitality classes:

"The indices of the vitality classes are the ratios of their death-rates to their birth-rates. The high vitality class has a high birth-rate and a low death-rate. In modern communities it roughly coincides with the rural landowning population. The medium vitality class has a low birth-rate and a low death-rate. It approximately coincides with the business and professional classes of the towns. The low vitality class has a high birth-rate and a high death-rate. It approximately coincides with the impoverished lower working class of the towns."<sup>7</sup>

There has probably never been a time when it has been the usual thing for people to marry with the idea of having children and establishing a home for the purpose of training children. Some few individuals have always married for the conscious purpose of having children, but it has been very rare. Nature has not been troubled by this fact in the past, however. It was only necessary to bring a man and woman together by any process whatsoever and establish them in a family and leave them alone, because as a result of that condition, usually children would in time appear, and then the family would begin to exercise its social and biological purpose.

Marriage as an institution without children is a mutilated enterprise. It has never in history been a satisfactory relationship when children have been left out of the program. Yet we now have very many families without children and from now on, throughout the civilized world, we shall have an increasing number of childless families. For families of this sort there has to be a different basis for the home than that of the family in the past. The family came into being to nurture the child. If the childless family is to become numerous enough to be a characteristic type of modern home,

<sup>7</sup> Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 125.



then it will be necessary that a substitute be found by many married people to take the place of the interest in children that in the past has been one of the influences holding the family together.

According to Dr. M. M. Knight the family as a social institution has finally broken in two. He states that our present thought about the family is clouded by our not seeing that instead of the one ancient institution we now have two, each receiving the name, family, though only one has a right to the term.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Knight coins a new word for the modern institution that has broken away from the family and in his judgment is rapidly replacing it. This new type of married life he calls the *companionate*. It is a lawful wedlock which exists entirely to provide comradeship. Those who enter upon a companionate have no intention of building up family life. If they were obliged to accept family responsibility or give up the idea of marriage, they would choose the latter. When we speak of the family as an institution, we assume something more than mere comradeship on the part of men and women. Otherwise the family would never justify the social position which we give it.

We have always had at the very beginning of marriage a transitory experience which resembles what Dr. Knight calls the companionate. In the past, however, this has usually been a brief period pending the coming of children and the taking on of the full social responsibilities of the home. The family of mere husband and wife was looked upon as only a temporary situation. Now, this experience of childless wedded life has ceased to be just a step toward family experience and has become an end in itself; and an increasing number of people marry, but never go beyond the state of companionate.

<sup>8</sup> Knight, The Companionate and the Family, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, May, 1924, pp. 257-67.

What is the cause of the new type of marriage which attempts to escape all social responsibilities? Dr. Knight considers the chief cause of the companionate to be the economic hardships that we incur when we undertake to maintain the old type of family. For a long time children have been an economic advantage. For centuries and centuries, when the family worked together for its own support, children were an economic asset. When manufacturing and farming were no longer family undertakings, children were able to contribute less to the family budget; and when the state by its wise insistence upon their better and longer training for life kept children at school, the parents found them an economic expense rather than a source of income.

In the severe competition felt by those engaged in present-day business and professional life, the husband preferred not to take over the responsibilities of fatherhood lest they hamper him in his ambitions. Comradeship with the woman of his choice brought recreation and relief from his work. The bringing up of children, on the other hand, would mean assuming a task that would limit his freedom and put upon him duties that he could not escape without social criticism. A companionate would be an asset in his business relations, but the old type of family life would prove a decided liability. And so he marries and we say he establishes a family, not noticing that the kind of home he maintains is not at all like the old type of family.

The wife prefers the companionate to a full-fledged family because it provides more freedom and greater luxury. She is familiar with these pleasures. The joy of motherhood she has not tasted and she hesitates to give up present happiness for an untried experience which as she views it appears to be mostly task and little enjoyment. Either from her reluctance to hamper her pleasures or because of her ambitions, she, like her husband, prefers the companionate to parenthood.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Knight, loc. cit.

**The family on a pleasure basis.**—The family starts under the impulse of pleasure. Those who enter family life expect to have more pleasure than if they did not. Perhaps this has always been at the first the chief motive, but in time a better motive has come into the normal family life and the family interests have gathered about a responsibility rather than a pleasure, the bringing up of children that the parents tremendously love. Childless families continue the pleasure attitude.

Unfortunately, nature, so far as the biological man is concerned, has not prepared us for a continued pleasure basis in marriage life; it is only temporary from the viewpoint of nature. Since pleasure was the first part of the process in erecting the family in time it was replaced by something that had a deeper grasp on human instincts. Reproduction brought into expression the parental interest. In so far as human beings try to maintain a childless home, they have a much more difficult problem in cementing family life than if they had children. Ease of separation, the possibility of conflict, the certainty of considerable disappointment, these risks are all inherent in the conditions of the childless family.

It is not strange that the idea is prevalent that marriage is a failure. Of course it is a failure to a large extent if it be established upon the basis of nothing else than unadulterated, immediate pleasure. It can not satisfactorily work out its purposes on that basis, nor can any other social institution.

How does this tendency originate? In part it is the natural result of the belief of normal young people in any generation that the purpose of living is to get immediately the largest amount of pleasure. It is also the result of an excessive love of pleasure, characteristic of the young people of our time, as a result of the increased wealth, leisure and freedom from excessive hardship that modern science and invention are making possible. In the past human nature

has been better disciplined by toil and privation and has more easily accepted irksome experiences as part of the expected order of things. Whether young couples entered marriage with an eye only upon its pleasures or not they were easily reconciled to disappointments and prepared to accept obligations. The coming of the child led them from a merely individualistic family life to one that recognized social obligations.

But if those who enter family life have no children to teach them the meaning of this transference, and still continue to demand of that relationship the largest possible pleasure and the least possible hardship, the least possible sacrifice, a situation has been created which makes the living together of two human beings difficult and certainly to some extent disappointing.

**The city child a handicap.**—There is another problem in our present city life—if children come they are frequently a burden. It is sometimes impossible for the family with children to secure the dwelling place they prefer. In several states we have passed laws making it criminal for a landlord to keep his house from a person with children on the ground that he does not want children in his houses, but it is difficult for laws to cope with a matter such as this when public opinion is not concerned. The childless rented house and the childless apartment have become an established fact everywhere. In some places the young married couple know that they may be asked to move within a year after their first child is born. The family with one or two children expects to be refused the privilege of renting the first or the second, or perhaps even the third or fourth dwelling place that seems to them desirable. The predicament of the family with more than two children can be more easily conjectured than faced. As soon as a child is born in the city the parents begin to feel that they have undertaken a burden which brings them social difficulty.

It is a strange civilization that adds a burden to anybody because he has brought a child into the world, but that is the fact nevertheless; and after the parents finally rent or buy a house they still find themselves increasingly hampered personally by the child. They find eventually that the child represents a liability rather than an asset. If they are poor people they find that the law says that the child must not go to work as soon as the parents may want him to, as soon as the parents themselves went to work, and this may mean to some parents that the child is a disappointment and a burden from the economic viewpoint. If they live on a higher level of economic standards they find that the child hampers them in one way or another in their desires.

So it comes about that the city has a condition exactly opposite to what used to be true, and is still largely true in the country. There, the child was not a burden, but an asset. He not only brought more feeling and affection and more meaning into family life, but he actually added to the resources of the economic life of the family. Now this can not be true in families of high standards in city life, and it is not strange, therefore, that we find children constantly decreasing in the homes of our city people.

In the article on "The Companionate and the Family," previously referred to, the author states that our present federal and state income tax laws are unfair to parents and tend to discourage the establishment of family life.<sup>10</sup>

The family is such a decided handicap in modern life, says Dr. Knight, that unless we lighten the responsibilities of parents, especially decreasing their economic disadvantages as compared with the childless married couples, the family will appear less and less frequently in its true form, until even civilization itself may be menaced. He therefore suggests that the only sensible thing is for the state to put a high tax upon families without children. The next step, which

<sup>10</sup> Knight, The Companionate and the Family, *Journal of Social Hygiène*, May, 1924, pp. 262, 266.



he does not mention, would be to subsidize in one way or another those families with children; and this is the kind of policy that seems to be developing in France, where the *companionate*, or family life based on comradeship between man and wife without children, appears to be more common and popular than in our own country.

Children certainly must not be thought of as a mere personal contribution to society. Those who are willing to assume family responsibility are giving to society its supreme wealth—children. The state should meet parents half way at least in its recognition of the difference for social welfare between the companionate and the family. The companionate does little for social welfare. The family makes the fundamental contribution, for without it there can be no society at all.

Our present tax laws, as Dr. Knight states, discriminate against parenthood, and to some extent are tending to lower the birth rate, especially in the middle class. A study of the tax laws, both state and federal, strengthens the belief that thus far little attention has been given to the effect of such taxation upon the family.

The Massachusetts tax law may be taken as an illustration of the tendency to forget family welfare in the attempt to find sources for public taxation. For example, until recently revised, the state allowed exemption for only two children so long as both their parents were living; if either parent died, the surviving parent could receive exemption for only four children. Recently this striking discrimination against children has been somewhat removed by permitting exemption for any number of children, but a strange clause forbids exemption for stepchildren. Surely one who is carrying the support of a stepchild is making as definite social contribution as he could were he maintaining his own children. Such a law shows how little thought has yet been given to the effect of taxation on family welfare.

As the significance of our present birth rate becomes more

clear, our tax laws will have to be written in such a way as to make the normal family of parents and children burdened as little as possible economically, even though their burden may have to be shifted upon the childless home.

Marriage for companionship may be more desirable than single life, but its economic burden is lighter than that of the normal family and its social value decidedly less. Upon it, therefore, the state and government should put the larger proportion of the tax. Any other policy works against the building up of family life.

**Neglect of parenthood responsibilities.**—Just as soon as one enters city life and comes in contact with people in earning one's livelihood one finds a very intense competition; and if one studies this competition, one will find that the men who set the pace which others try to imitate are men who do not ordinarily assume any degree of family responsibility. If these men have children they turn them over to hirelings, and pay no attention to their own sons and daughters as long as no serious disciplinary problem arises. Not even taking time to cultivate the acquaintance of their children, such fathers give all their attention to their work.

Competing, in their professional or business life, with men who are conscientious parents and who spend part of their time in the training of their children, these irresponsible fathers have a great advantage in the amount of time and energy they can devote to their occupation. When such men forge ahead of the rank and file in their chosen line, and win for themselves commanding positions in the world of business or the realm of science, they are outdistancing men of equal ability who are handicapped in the struggle for fame or wealth by the fact that they acknowledge their obligations to their children.

Not only fathers, but mothers today are neglecting their children for the lure of distinction outside the home. The child that is deserted in this fashion by both parents does

indeed have a hard time. He may tremendously admire his successful parents, but he is not tempted to confide in a mother or father who is almost a stranger to him.

Homes in which either or both parents fail to give freely of themselves to their children are liable to become hotbeds of juvenile and adolescent delinquency. Feeling that those who would be expected to care most for them are indifferent, the boys and girls are apt to become very difficult to handle. When grave problems confront the young people, their parents find that it is now too late to win the confidence of the children they have so long disregarded. Then help is sought from the expert in child management in an attempt to counteract to some extent the harm done by the parents' selfish policy.

When we have a rational society we shall see that the most significant thing in the social behavior of adults is that they be good parents. We will not praise those persons who escape family responsibility in order that they may pour all their life out in what is really selfish competition for the gratification of personal ambition. The highest tribute we can pay to parents will be to call them good parents. Men and women who have met successfully their obligations as parents will be given social recognition as having made a most valuable contribution to the welfare of the nation.

**Changing status of women.**—The social changes that have marked the extension of human rights and the growth of democratic ideals in modern civilization have been especially important as they have influenced the status of women. Perhaps the best test to determine the genuine progress of modern democracy is the actual conditions that characterize the life of women and children.

The industrial revolution with all its accompanying social suffering, which descended most terribly upon women and children, gave the impetus to conditions that slowly lifted them to a higher legal and economic level. So far as the

changes in industry and standards influenced women, they tended toward economic and social equality with men. This trend is still going on, and although the sexes have not reached a complete equality, and children have not gained the full protection of a wholesome democratic régime, the momentum shows no danger of losing its force.

Economic independence has become possible for an ever increasing number of women and marriage as a vocation has come under competition with profitable and pleasant occupations along various lines of industry. Education has also been more justly distributed and with remarkable rapidity custom, which had previously restricted the intellectual life of women, has crumbled.

It was inevitable that political rights should be demanded by the more modern-minded women, and that gradually opposition from both men and women should dwindle away in the face of actual conditions until woman suffrage became law. Their new power of influencing government women are learning to use with greater effectiveness, and this, added to the other contributing social conditions in industry and education, is rapidly sweeping away the remnants of masculine dominance that still persist.

**Influence of new status of women upon the home.**—Those who have been hostile to the movements in modern life that have tended toward a greater equality of the sexes have again and again pointed out the obvious risk these changes bring to wholesome home life. It certainly was to be expected that a home built upon the theory of masculine superiority and the man's legal and social dominance would be obliged to undergo very significant changes in order to become adapted to the new conditions. This necessary readjustment of family life has been, and still is, one of the disturbing social influences of modern civilization.

The difficulties that the modern home has to meet because of these new elements in the domestic situation appear par-

ticularly with reference to the economic life of the home. They involve not merely the problem of distributing the family income in a manner just to both husband and wife, but they also complicate the process of building a home life that satisfies the expectations of both members of the family enterprise. This latter difficulty discloses itself in the problem that the middle and lower classes face in attempting to make the income of one working member support the standard of life that each enjoyed when both were employed.

Modern life intensifies the competition between women who are anxious to marry. This is in part due to the fact that in our older sections there are usually more women than men. Moreover, business, utilizing to the utmost the stimulus of competition, for profit, encourages habits of display in dress, for example, that soon become fixed standards for the individual. In order to have a fair chance of attracting a satisfactory mate, a woman must meet the conditions of present competition or accept a great handicap in her attempt to associate with agreeable, promising men.

The woman's standards of life, her tastes in dress and food and living quarters become a part of her, a matter of habit, and if marriage carries with it the denial of accustomed luxuries, she is likely to feel that marriage is a failure. The same thing may happen in the case of the man, or both man and wife may feel that married life entails too great a cutting down of personal expenditures. This problem is of course greatest among those who fall within the group that we vaguely call the middle class. It is not confined however to members of this group. It is generally felt more keenly by women than men because women are likely to be called upon for the greater sacrifice of former standards. The first pinch is often felt in the necessity of giving up recreations formerly taken as a matter of course. At times the problem is not consciously faced and settled by discussion, but each struggles to get his or her share of spending money with the



feeling that the other is unjust and selfish. There is no way of statistically knowing how large a problem in marriage this economic element has become, but those familiar with the inner disputes and final breakdown of family affection regard it as one of the most important causes of trouble. The sense of shame felt by the individuals concerned often leads them to conceal this part of their family discord and to stress something else.

**Married women and employment.**—Inadequate family income is one of the motives that lead married women to enter regular employment. Rather than go without comforts and pleasures that had become a part of their habitual life before marriage, they finally decide to keep house on a limited scale, perhaps buying much of their food or eating out, in order to return to their former type of employment. In the cities especially this trend appears to be increasing as social custom frowns less and less severely on this policy of married women. A marriage that must limit its homekeeping is clearly better than no marriage at all. Nor is it safe to assume that every married woman who works is forced to do so because her husband can not earn an adequate income for the family budget. There are, as we shall shortly see, other reasons for married women's returning to industrial employment. Nevertheless financial need is one of the reasons for such employment. It may be that the family could easily prosper on the husband's salary if one or both members of the household would only give up luxuries. Rather than conform to a less expensive mode of life, a multitude of women who have had business experience prefer to go to work.

Another motive that leads women to continue former vocations after marrying is their desire to share the joys of a gregarious employment. The city worker often finds the solitude and non-competitive character of housekeeping very repugnant and increasingly irritating. Working day by day

in the house by herself with none of the pleasures of comradeship while at work contrasts unpleasantly with the constant unexpected small excitements of urban employment. Her previous habit of work has been permeated with love of gregarious contacts, and the isolation of the house becomes oppressive. This desire to work with people always brings many women back to their former positions after a short experience with the practical difficulties of housekeeping. "I was so lonesome," exclaims the department store girl when she returns to her former job after a few weeks of household experience. Marriage would be at least as serious a trial for the man if he were called upon to give up his gregarious form of labor upon marriage and enter upon an isolated, individualistic type of labor. What is often pronounced the monotony of housework is really its necessary non-gregarious character. It is folly to expect that the young women of today who, in one form or another, are tasting the sweets of gregarious occupation will all be content to work day after day as their mothers and grandmothers did within the four walls of a house. Whether they finally go outside to work or not, they will surely demand a larger leisure and a greater opportunity for gregarious contacts.

So long as social custom looked down upon married women's working, family pride, especially the sense of self-respect of the husband, checked the desire of the wife to work. The time is passing, however, when custom will exercise any degree of pressure upon the wife who chooses to work outside the home in the city. Too many married women need or wish to work, for the custom of other days to dominate. Husbands recognize more frequently the advantage to the family from the wife's working. The justice of a woman's continuing her career is in many cases so obvious that the most finical critic could make no protest.

**Lack of housekeeping experience.**—The unmarried young woman's easy entrance into industry often adds a burden

at another point to the enterprise of home-building. Executives who have had experience with working girls testify that the average girl earning her living in industry of any sort today thinks less and less seriously about the preparation required for married life. It would not greatly matter whether she thought about it, if only she had had the preparation, but unfortunately she usually lacks the training that her mother had in actual housekeeping. It is therefore all the more necessary that she should think about preparing herself for marriage. When she does not do this she is often exceedingly surprised after her marriage to find what is involved in her housekeeping. One can see how this comes about. Her hours of work are given to the occupation by which she earns her living. Her leisure she spends in recreation which is largely a contrast to the monotony of the occupation. She finds little time to think about the meaning of marriage. She gives a great deal of attention to interests that are likely to make possible her marriage, and awakens eventually after the wedding to find that she is badly prepared for her housekeeping task.

Her lack of experience proves expensive at the very period when the family budget can least easily meet the strain. She easily becomes discouraged. Her husband perhaps is driven by the logic of events to the conclusion that housekeeping is too expensive a luxury for the family income and they start going out to meals, move into a smaller apartment and sooner or later the wife goes back into industry.

The value of domestic science courses in our schools must not be discounted. Undoubtedly these courses help a multitude of young women to meet their housekeeping problems with skill and enthusiasm. It must be remembered, however, that many girls do not take such courses, and that it is difficult for any school instruction to anticipate the actual conditions of housekeeping. The high school girl who has chosen the commercial course is a good example of a graduate who has

little school preparation for homekeeping. On the other hand, if she marries, all her business experience is likely to pull her away from the home toward industry.

**Woman's desire for a public career.**—No general statement can be made concerning woman's desire for industrial occupation other than housekeeping as a career. It is a personal matter, the result of each woman's natural bent and individual experience. Many working women are eager to escape from their toil and find housekeeping a happy relief from their previous occupation. Others, whether they eagerly anticipated household management or attempted it with misgivings, soon find in actual experience that it is irksome, even for some intolerable. Since woman's position in industry appears likely to be permanent, we must expect to find gregarious emotional experience one of the modern influences that put strain upon family life and particularly complicate the problem of home-making.

Having once been self-supporting and happy in some employment that gave her numerous and pleasant contacts with people, a wife who does not enjoy housekeeping and who has no children will instinctively crave a return to her former type of occupation. Such a wife, if shut away from the labor of her choice by a conventional hostility in her community or social circle to the married woman's having an industrial career outside the home, will be restless, discontented and envious of the broader and more inviting career of her husband. She will not, as is often supposed, become content with church work or club life as substitutes for regular money-making employment in industry. She is fully conscious of the fact, which her husband may or may not appreciate, that the employment that she desires offers for her self-expression and satisfactions that she can not by any effort of will find in the domestic tasks which she acquired with marriage.

**The parasitic wife.**—As a result of recent advances in

applied science and the cheapening and perfecting of inventions there has been during the last fifty years a rapid increase in leisure. All classes of society and both men and women have been affected by this greater quantity of leisure. The home life of our period has been especially sensitive to changes resulting from this leisure and from the greater distribution of luxury.

One of the results of the new leisure has been the increase in the kind of wife that is parasitic. Relieved almost entirely from the responsibilities of homekeeping which she turns over to a paid manager and from the obligations of caring for her children whom she gives into the hands of hirelings and private schools and summer camps, providing she has any children, she spends her time in personal pleasures, in entertaining social friends and in charities while her hard-working husband overburdens himself with business or professional responsibilities. He supports his wife as a pampered plaything and finds pleasure and pride in his ability to give her a useless or even injurious life of idleness. From the viewpoint of social welfare such a parasitic woman is a family degenerate. She is necessarily lacking in a wholesome sense of the values of life. Her parasitic career frequently creates discontent which permits all sorts of faddists and quacks to prey upon her and her husband's pocketbook. She may develop nervous difficulties, fancied or real, and finally resort to the psychiatrist and nerve specialist. She needs most of all a serious commitment to a life of worth-while responsibilities but lacks the insight or will to face for any length of time the obligations of any serious task.

It must not be supposed that all such women are wives of wealthy husbands. Although the quantity of their freedom and the amount of their luxuries are necessarily conditioned by their husband's income, the parasitic wife is found among all classes except the very poor. Living in small apartments and flats, eating out of the home, childless and with no sense



of social obligations, wives of clerks, artisans and ill-paid professional workers may be as essentially parasitic in attitude as the most pampered wives of the very wealthy. The husband's effort to carry the financial burden of a useless wife not infrequently leads to low business morals and even criminal dishonesty. If there are still household drudges who work too hard to meet the demands of their homekeeping duties there are also other women who are spoiled by leisure that they can not use with profit.

## CHAPTER VI

### DIVORCE AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY

**Looseness of the savage family.**—The family among savages is a very unstable unit even in tribes of higher culture. Marriage and divorce are generally private matters, at most concerning only the near kin of the man and woman involved. Although there is seldom a serious opposition to divorce on the ground of religious scruples, there are tribes that have a public control of divorce. For example, the decision as to whether divorce shall be permitted may be in the hands of the chief or the leading men of the tribe. In cases where the elders are not relatives of the parties concerned, the control of the granting of the divorce rests upon the desire to keep the peace by avoiding any public controversy regarding the divorce problem.

Among savage peoples we find a great variety of customs regarding divorce. These differences have been summarized as follows.

Divorce may be had at the desire of the two concerned; such cases may involve only mutual consent. It is necessary among some tribes that there be a repayment of the price of the bride; these divorces may require incompatibility or some fault on the part of one or both parties. Divorce may be had at the will of the husband. Even when this is theoretically possible there are frequently financial and other practical interests that actually limit the husband's power. Divorce may be had only when certain conditions are present. Among these we find infidelity, desertion, barrenness and cruelty. Barrenness is widely accepted as a sufficient reason for di-

forcing a wife. The having of children, on the other hand, operates as with us to prevent divorce. These conditions may give to only one of the couple the power to bring about a divorce. For example, the husband is often free to get a divorce when the wife is not. Lastly, divorce may not be granted at all or so seldom and with such difficulty as to be of practically no social significance.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to divorce customs among savages, one must always keep in mind the difference between theory and fact. Often when divorce is theoretically possible it is practically prohibited by the customs of the people. On the whole, although in savage society the family is more unstable than with us it is not so different as one would naturally expect to find it.

**Divorce in the United States.**—Among the American colonies New England was most liberal in the granting of divorce. Marriage was regarded as a civil contract which the courts had the power to annul.<sup>2</sup> The South, as a result of the influence of the Episcopal church, tended to follow the English practice and to refuse divorce. Separations by mutual consent to some extent replaced divorce in the South and, if not legally recognized, these arrangements were not frowned upon by public opinion.<sup>3</sup>

During the nineteenth century the legislative tendency toward an increase in the causes for divorce was unmistakable. The rapid increase in the number of divorces granted in the United States since 1867, the first year for which we have divorce statistics, has been one of the startling social facts of the nation. Divorce has increased three times as fast as our population. The divorce rate varies from state to state. The proportion of divorces to marriages is highest in some

<sup>1</sup> Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (London School of Economics and Political Science), pp. 146-48.

<sup>2</sup> Calhoun, *Social History of the American Family*, Vol. I, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

of the states of the far West. Oregon, for example, in the following preliminary statement<sup>4</sup> of the Department of Commerce with reference to marriages and divorces for the year 1922 has 2.6 marriages to one divorce. Nevada, the state that draws candidates for divorce from other parts of the country, because of its liberal legislation, has .9 of a marriage to each divorce.

**Social significance of divorce.**—The divorce situation in this country demonstrates the unstable character of our present American family. It discloses a social problem which, viewed in its full social meaning, is second to none. It is possible, however, so to stress the evils of divorce as to hide the significance the present situation has for those who believe in a progressive society as contrasted with one that avoids the difficulties of changing circumstances by remaining static. The present family life is in transition and by no pressure of legislation can it be brought back to its earlier more stable and more simple character.

The first effects of the social changes that influence the home are shown in a more fluid and uncertain family. Along with this distressing tendency toward family instability goes the movement, equally apparent, to make the family more human and more dependent for its permanence upon love and fellowship. Family failure is more frequently and more frankly showing itself in the divorce court, since there is no public pressure to force it to remain hidden. Without question, this growing indifference to divorce on the part of the great mass of people encourages some to seek a divorce for the most trivial reason and leads others to enter upon marriage carelessly with the feeling that if the experiment does not work out well, divorce may easily be had.

All of these menacing elements in our divorce situation are so clear that he who runs may read. The less obvious facts have to do with the increasing tendency to demand more

<sup>4</sup> See p. 160.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN EACH STATE IN 1922 AND THE NUMBER PER 100,000 POPULATION. BASED UPON THE ESTIMATED POPULATION, JULY 1, 1922.

State	Marriages		Divorce		Number of marriages to one Divorce
	Number	per 100,000 Population	Number	Per 100,000 Population	
United States...	1,126,418	1,033	148,554	136	7.6
Alabama.....	25,295	1,053	2,637	110	9.6
Arizona.....	3,192	868	680	185	4.7
Arkansas.....	26,740	1,487	4,038	225	6.6
California.....	47,477	1,285	9,227	250	5.1
Colorado.....	11,456	1,174	2,073	212	5.5
Connecticut.....	12,095	835	1,030	71	11.7
Delaware.....	1,451	635	224	98	6.5
Dist. of Columbia...	5,760	1,316	161	37	35.8
Florida.....	14,978	1,463	2,207	217	6.8
Georgia.....	35,635	1,206	1,833	62	19.4
Idaho.....	4,138	901	845	184	4.9
Illinois.....	75,208	1,122	10,995	164	6.8
Indiana.....	37,692	1,261	7,005	234	5.4
Iowa.....	22,745	928	3,815	156	6.0
Kansas.....	19,705	1,101	3,436	192	5.7
Kentucky.....	26,922	1,099	4,042	165	6.7
Louisiana.....	21,665	1,181	1,731	94	12.5
Maine.....	6,649	858	1,139	147	5.8
Maryland.....	22,928	1,539	1,426	96	16.1
Massachusetts.....	32,683	822	3,208	81	10.2
Michigan.....	43,561	1,120	7,572	195	5.8
Minnesota.....	24,248	983	2,588	105	9.4
Mississippi.....	25,247	1,454	2,310	130	10.9
Missouri.....	39,598	1,154	8,344	243	4.7
Montana.....	5,228	881	1,207	203	4.3
Nebraska.....	12,416	938	2,283	173	5.4
Nevada.....	935	1,208	1,026	1,325	0.9
New Hampshire.....	4,505	1,009	600	134	7.5
New Jersey.....	27,114	818	2,082	63	13.0
New Mexico.....	4,101	1,112	473	128	8.7
New York.....	95,727	894	4,238	40	22.6
North Carolina.....	22,191	837	1,317	50	16.8
North Dakota.....	3,822	575	336	51	11.4
Ohio.....	53,206	885	10,182	169	5.2
Oklahoma.....	26,755	1,260	5,564	262	4.8
Oregon.....	6,538	805	2,522	311	2.6
Pennsylvania.....	70,289	782	6,892	77	10.2
Rhode Island.....	5,669	914	819	132	6.9
South Carolina.....	17,624	1,020	.....	.....	.....
South Dakota.....	5,505	850	560	86	9.8
Tennessee.....	32,549	1,369	3,908	164	8.3
Texas.....	61,233	1,278	12,399	259	4.9
Utah.....	5,233	1,116	604	129	8.7
Vermont.....	3,035	861	369	105	8.2
Virginia.....	23,017	970	2,413	102	9.5
Washington.....	16,359	1,159	2,182	155	7.5
West Virginia.....	17,024	1,115	1,467	96	11.6
Wisconsin.....	17,277	638	2,033	75	8.5
Wyoming.....	1,998	966	512	247	3.9



happiness and social satisfaction of marriage, to regard marriage as having a degree of hazard, in common with all other associations entered upon by human will, and especially to consider marriage as a relationship in which woman has equal needs and rights with man.

Whether our present increasing divorce tendency is to go on until it saps national vitality by the breaking down of home life depends upon the strength of ethical and educational forces in producing more wholesome social conditions that influence home life. The divorce problem is not in itself an evil; it is rather the expression of various conditions that are having an unsocial influence upon conduct, especially upon the home.

The divorce rate roughly measures our family problem, but like a fever of the body it can only be reduced by getting at the causes that are producing it. There is certainly need enough of legislation regarding marriage and divorce, for at present the conflicting laws of the states are bringing about what may best be described as a state of anarchy so far as the legal side of marriage is concerned. Nevertheless, legislation as a mere repression will prove as hopeless in dealing with the divorce problem as a drug which only reduces fever without getting at the sources of body disorder is in restoring a sick person to health. At the most, coercion by means of strict divorce laws can only force the social influences antagonizing family life to take other and perhaps worse forms of expression than the divorce. Our moral, religious and educational forces must lift the standards of human behavior and make society itself more wholesome or there can be no substantial progress away from the social evils that now encourage divorce. No purely negative policy regarding divorce can accomplish much. The necessity for a constructive program appears clearly when we examine the fundamental causes of divorce.

**Chief causes of divorce.**—Divorces register marriage failure. They do more than this. They reveal the bad life-preparation of those who are divorced. It is not the institution of marriage that fails, but the individuals who have attempted the fellowship and responsibilities of wedlock. Divorces therefore illustrate character or educational defects which have made the close alliance of marriage between two individuals impossible of success. In treating the causes one has to distinguish those that are primary from those that are secondary in their influence. It is possible to catalogue most of these causes, if one so chooses, under moral terms; but such characterizations as selfishness or fickleness give no insight into the social forces that are operating to produce divorces. The following grouping of causes, while not denying the moral elements involved in the problem, attempts to put together the subordinate social influences that can be catalogued as belonging to a major social cause. The order in which the causes are given is of no significance since it can be only a matter of opinion which cause is responsible for the most difficulty.

**The weakening of social control respecting marriage.**—Marriage is increasingly becoming an individual affair. Public opinion no longer furnishes the check upon divorce that once was so effective. Formerly it took courage to get a divorce. In some sections and in some classes this is still true. But that, the country over, there is a decided change, a greater tolerance, in many quarters more indifference respecting divorce is apparent to all.

It is in the loss of former religious scruples against getting a divorce that we find one of the significant changes which influence many who for religious reasons would once have continued married. The present tendency toward emphasis on the ethical element of religion has brought into prominence the individual and utilitarian side of marriage as related to the moral interests of the persons involved, at the expense

of the sacramental interpretation of the meaning of marriage.

It is impossible to bring divorce into social disrepute when people of fashion, social prestige and recognized talent obtain divorces and even remarry. Public opinion in rural sections still operates against the getting of divorces but not to the extent that it did. In the city, aside from religious influences that still curb the divorce tendency, we find little public control arising from the community that decreases divorce.

At present the trend is so decidedly against any social coercion that attempts to hold together a man and woman who wish to separate, that we are not likely to see a return to the former checking of divorce by social coercion. On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate that we have as yet arrived at an equilibrium in contrast with the earlier ban upon divorce. There are those who believe that marriage should be a purely private matter entered upon and departed from by mere mutual consent. They would give to the state only the right to regulate the children of parents who divorce. In other words they consider the attitude of most savage peoples, who regard marriage as a purely personal or family affair, the logical and socially desirable position to take.

It is obvious that a matter that concerns two people, not one, that has decided influences upon both personal and social morals and involves from its very nature the possibility of children is a relationship for which the state must assume some responsibility. The state can not even permit the entering upon marriage to be a matter for the individuals to decide. For the general social welfare, state regulation of the privilege of marrying is necessary. Marriage is inherently social in its significance and the state can neither give up its oversight over the entrance to marriage nor abandon its right to decide who can be relieved from the social obligations incurred in marrying, and under what circumstances.

**Higher standards for marriage.**—Another cause of divorce is the wholesome desire to insist upon high standards

*personal  
selfishness*

in marriage and home life. It is easy to overestimate and also to minimize this cause. Many divorces are obtained for selfish reasons that do not indicate a desire for relief from low standards. On the other hand it is equally clear that a multitude of women, especially, go to the court to be freed from marriage conditions that are intolerable although once they might have been endured for the sake of escaping the shame of a public divorce. Partisans of divorce stress the motive of higher standards. Opponents of divorce are prone to ignore or undervalue them. Although it is difficult to estimate the relative significance of the desire for wholesome marriage conditions in contrast with the selfish and socially indifferent attitude of those who use divorce as a means of being rid of a relationship of which they have tired and in order to enter upon another that promises new pleasures, it is nevertheless certain that this desire plays a large part in the causing of divorce and prevents the divorce problem from becoming wholly a registration of personal selfishness.

The meaning of our present divorce situation can not be seen unless it is clearly recognized that it comes about in part because of the transitional period in which the modern family now finds itself. One of the most effective influences that have contributed to bring about the changing family has been the increasing social equality of woman. This in turn has been built upon woman's economic independence. The woman's movement which in its more radical form is known as feminism is itself a product of the changing social and economic conditions that have resulted in bringing to woman more and more of the special privileges that once were man's. A home based upon man's dominance can not hope to pass to a home of equal rights without disturbances.

Divorces are naturally produced when the husband enters marriage expecting the conditions of his father's time or even his grandfather's régime and his wife insists that marriage conform to the desires of the modern type of woman. It is

unreasonable to suppose that this condition is to be permanent or that it is long to remain a prolific cause of family disruptions and divorce. Woman's right to self-expression in marriage has arrived as a culmination of a long succession of economic and social events and by no process whatsoever can the great majority of women be forced back to what has been. If this means a greater difficulty of family adjustment, as for a time at least it certainly will, the family will have to make the best of it.

It will be the task of education to give woman reasonable desires and a social and family consciousness. It will likewise fall to education, in the large sense of a preparation for life which includes establishing the foundation for meeting adult responsibilities, to give young men a clear notion of the recent revolutionary changes in woman's life. This is necessary if education is to do its part in providing for the youth of today a just chance of married happiness. Families based on wholesome fellowship, with a disposition on the part of both husband and wife to recognize the need of equitably adjusting the home to each other's character needs, will not seek the divorce court but will demonstrate the advantages of the new equality-type of family.

It is necessary, as society becomes more complex and the opportunities for leisure and self-expression increase, that new and more exacting demands should be placed upon a relationship of such fundamental character as marriage. With these new demands of modern life come naturally a larger number of families that for one reason or another fail to reach the proper standards and become intolerable to one or both of the unfortunate individuals concerned.

It is equally true, however, that much of the difficulty is due to a false sense of values. The stress upon individual interests and especially upon pleasure, which is characteristic of the time, calls for a self-control and a discrimination that many are not prepared to exercise. For such undisciplined



persons marriage is looked upon as a sort of emotional joy-ride and when upon marrying they eventually find themselves face to face with unexpected demands for sacrifice, struggle or limitation of personal desires they feel that their new relationship has proven a mistake, a deception even, and they often refuse to accept any of the responsibilities that in time would surely lead them to a better understanding of the larger meaning of marriage.

Much of the present wrong thinking with reference to marriage centers about sex. At present unusual stress is placed upon sex in habits of thought and action by our younger people, stimulated especially by books and by the press. Commerce, in its desire for profit, has made use of the sex interests of the young in a great many ways that have produced a stimulation of sex which is unparalleled in recent human experience. Sex has been magnified out of all proportion and this has resulted in both courtship and marriage giving sex a larger place than it really deserves. This statement does not deny to sex a very large place. It is largely sex that impels one to marriage. Marriage is a social institution which has for one of its chief purposes the control of sex and the reproduction that is so intimately related to it. But marriage is much more than simply a social control of sex. Modern home life can never be satisfactorily established upon a foundation of mere sex interests. The overemphasis of sex leads away from a contented or enduring monogamous marriage, for sex attraction by itself draws away from the normal modern home of love and fellowship toward a more animal and promiscuous relationship.

No one wishes to return to the dishonest prudery or the conspiracy of silence respecting sex, of the past. The opposite extreme threatens us now. If our ancestors failed to give the sex side of life the importance that rightly belongs to it and refused to allow it to have serious scientific treatment

in discussion, we of the present generation are likely to run to the other extreme and attempt the impossible task of building wholesome marriage and home life upon a conscious and over-stimulated sex craving. In the rapid breaking down of former taboos and customs that had to do with sex there has not been an equally rapid construction of sanity and idealism. A program of wholesome understanding of the social significance of sex without morbid attention to it or selfish indifference to the sex welfare of others is at last finding expression and in this is the hope of a healthier and safer basis for marriage than the concealment of the recent past or the undue attention sex is at present receiving.

**Polygamous tendencies.**—The situation at present is tending to bring out the polygamous tendencies of a large number of people who make use of divorce as a means of escaping a monogamous régime. Monogamy has never satisfied the sex cravings of a minority, especially a minority of men. Prostitution has attested to this fact and its support has been largely due to the slowness with which civilization as a whole has actually risen to the highest level of sex relationship.

Prostitution has at last appeared in its true colors, so absolutely revolting and socially unjust that every ethical and constructive force is working against it. As Calhoun well says, "it is certain practically to disappear."<sup>5</sup> Its passing is likely to be swift in comparison with the extinction in the past of other well-established exploitations such as cannibalism and slavery. With the decrease of prostitution there will be a greater use of divorce by those who find monogamous marriage repugnant because of their over-development of the animal passion of sex and their lack of maturity of the higher type of monogamous affection.

How much this desire for a successive form of polygamous experience is the real cause leading to divorce we can not

<sup>5</sup> Calhoun, *Social History of the American Family*, Vol. 3, p. 329.

know, for there is from the nature of the problem no statistical knowledge of the situation. It is reasonable, however, to deduce from the behavior of individuals who divorce and remarry, occasionally seven or eight times, that it is a cause that we are more likely to underestimate than to exaggerate. It may not always appear consciously as the cause to the individual who is seeking a divorce but nevertheless more frequently than is often thought it is the real and deep-lying motive. As public opinion tolerates prostitution less and less and attacks, as it is beginning to do, the patron rather than the victim it is doubtful whether the polygamously inclined minority of men and women will be changed as rapidly as public opinion moves; and as a result in divorce and remarriage a large proportion of this group will find the only means of escape from a social standard higher than their attainments. Such divorces, however discouraging they may seem from the viewpoint of family stability, are nevertheless evidences of a progressive civilization leading men and women in successful marriage relationships to the finer expressions of an affection capable in itself of producing an enduring life fellowship.

**The growing economic disadvantages of marriage.**—In the preceding chapter mention was made of the temptation felt by many newly married women to return to their former employment because of the financial difficulties felt by the young husband and wife as soon as they attempt to establish a home of their own. Marriage was once a decided economic advantage for both the man and woman. It is now for many, especially for city dwellers, an enterprise that cuts down the former income of the two and at the same time increases expenses.

The change that has come about that has made marriage an economic risk rather than a financial advantage comes out clearly when we contrast the present marriage situation with that of our frontier period.

The American frontiersman could hardly exist unmarried. The work of one man's hands was not equal to the combined efforts of husband, wife and children in clearing the wilderness, plowing, planting, reaping, and caring for foodstuffs, spinning, and weaving yarn, making clothes, hunting, dressing hides, making moccasins, and improvising tools for all the necessary kinds of work carried on in each household.

We find that when husband or wife died, in a few months, or even days in some cases, a new marriage made possible the existence of the family. This was so common a proceeding as to be taken quite as a matter of course.

In later rural life also it was difficult for the single person to get on. It still is, as compared with what is true in the city. The wife who can take care of the hens, make the butter, and perhaps look after the calves and milk the cows, besides picking and canning the fresh vegetables and fruits, and cooking for hired men, is a worthy partner on the farms of today.

Some professional people in both country and city, notably doctors and ministers, find it well to be married, a real economic advantage; but for the great mass of people, particularly in our cities, marriage often means that two individuals try to live on what was previously the income of one. Some find this very difficult.

It does not necessarily help the young fellow in business that he has recently married. Family cares and worries may even handicap him in his competition with those who are carrying no home burdens. His salary has to cover so many more bills than it did during his single life, he is always on pins and needles. Can he pay the butcher's bill, give Anne cash for the grocer, and be on time with the rent? One by one he may be forced to give up the recreations that kept him fit when he was a bachelor. Next, perhaps his clothes begin to suffer. He does not feel justified in buying new ones as often as he used to, or in spending quite so much

for them—not until he gets a bigger nest-egg rolled up ready for the large expenses that seem always to be lurking around the next corner.

Feeling that he is not dressing so well as he did tends to pull down a man's self-respect. It is harder for him to do his best work when he is conscious of being open to criticism on the score of personal appearance. Giving up the recreation he had grown to depend upon may give him a bit of a grouch or even lower his physical vitality. This would be immediately reflected in his work.

Since marriage today is often an economic burden instead of the boost to prosperity it used to be, the successful present-day marriage must demonstrate itself in terms of human happiness outside the reach of the pocketbook. Granted, that a man and woman married have less money to spend for pleasure than either one gaily squandered before marriage, they still have a chance to find greater happiness together than apart. Their hope of success lies in the depth of their affection for each other.

They do not live together because it is profitable to work together; they stay together simply because they enjoy each other's company, because they love each other and would be unhappy apart. Many who would have stayed together in the old days, even though they had no great affection for each other, just for the sake of the economic success they could win by working together, drift apart today because they are held neither by affection nor by a common economic interest.

It is impossible to judge the proportion of divorces that arise fundamentally from financial difficulties in the home. Those who have had experience in dealing with family quarrels and separations are sure to consider the economic stress a prolific cause of divorces. It must also be remembered that many secondary causes will spring out of the economic difficulties. Worry and discouragement over unpaid bills, injured pride due to the consciousness of debt, the dissatisfactions



that may be due to ambitions surrendered because of economic troubles, excessive fatigue resulting from overwork in the effort to get on, or change in personal standards necessitated by too small a family income are some of the consequences of the economic problem and any of them may become the conscious cause of separation or divorce.

**Lack of preparation for marriage.**—We are likely in a study of divorce to give too little attention to the influence of inadequate preparation for marriage. The son or daughter who receives specific helpful preparation for marriage is at present an exception. We are only beginning to realize the great need of special training for marriage and parenthood. For some years we have done much better with the problems of housekeeping at least so far as the girl is concerned. We have not in our public education gone as far as we need, even here, to give young people a reasonable chance to start housekeeping. We offer courses in domestic science but the average home is so likely not to do its part in the training of the girl that our social need justifies our requiring some of this preparation for all girls. The movement toward this is encouraging. Without doubt the work offered in many cases needs to be more practical and more related to the normal conditions of actual housekeeping. It is not enough, however, to train the girl. The boy also must get some notion of the problem of housekeeping, the financial elements involved in marriage and an appreciation of a wife's task that will permit him to understand her work and to cooperate with her.

Sex preparation for marriage is more difficult to furnish because curiosity has so often already led to an instruction from playmates and associates that makes later teaching well-nigh helpless in its efforts to build up wholesomeness of attitudes toward sex. There is also always present the problem of what shall be taught and who shall do the teaching.

In spite of great differences of opinion with respect to

the advisability of our schools taking over sex instruction in any specific or narrow sense there is general agreement that public instruction must do more to prepare for marriage and homekeeping by greater stress upon biology and by better development of the inherent idealism of the young. Next to the work that the efficient home does, this instruction and stimulation of the schools can be made most helpful in the preparation for marriage.

Society must go farther than this, however, if it is really to attack the divorce peril. There is great need of instruction for marriage and for parenthood being given to those who are actually facing these problems. It is useless to expect any instruction to anticipate marriage and parenthood problems before they are close enough to have personal meaning to those taught. This fact must always limit the work of the schools. Here and there are various types of effort that look toward a specific training in separate classes of men and women who are expecting to marry or to become parents.

It is obviously difficult to obtain enough of the right kind of instructors to do the work on a large scale at present but we have hopeful beginnings. These experiments may reveal the practical way of accomplishing what most thoughtful people feel the need of having. Churches and other religious organizations have undertaken this training; universities have also begun to give such instruction. The School of Education of Boston University, for example, is slowly developing a series of courses that have to do with marriage, parenthood and homemaking. Special lecturers are doing useful service, although from the nature of their audiences they can not hope to provide adequate, specific instruction but merely to create interest and give right attitudes. Books are being written that are helpful even though this means can reach only the most thoughtful young people who least need help. The new psychology is slowly awakening people to the seriousness of early experiences and this is bound in time to

lead to a demand for specific training for prospective parents and also for parents who need special help because of home difficulties.

We have no choice with reference to whether sex matters shall be kept from our young or not. The former period of sex taboo has passed. Since, even if it were desirable, we can not go back to it we must now attempt to make a constructive use of the situation as it is. Society must concern itself with a more adequate preparation for marriage or suffer the inevitable result of its neglect in a greater number of family disruptions that come about because of lack of training for marriage and homemaking.

**Age of marriage.**—The age of marriage influences the birth rate and without question the divorce rate also. It is not universally true, as is the common belief, that the average age of marriage is increasing. The statistics demonstrate that, although this is true of some countries, in others the average rate shows a slight decrease. During the last half century the average age of marriage has slightly declined for both sexes in France, Prussia, Batavia, Oldenburg and Denmark. For the last quarter of the nineteenth century a similar decline has taken place in Finland, Württemberg and Saxony.<sup>6</sup> In England and Wales the mean age of spinsters has been slowly advancing since 1873. Before this date the records are too doubtful to be made use of for comparison. Newsholme states that the mean age at marriage in 1920 was 27.51 years for bachelor-bridegrooms and 25.54 for spinster-brides. This shows an average postponement of marriage since 1876 of 0.88 for bachelors and 0.40 for spinsters.<sup>7</sup> The frequency of divorce influences the marriage rate due to the remarrying of those divorced often some years later than their first marriage. This fact indicates that the average marriage rate would be advanced abnormally in the United States by the high divorce rate.

<sup>6</sup> Holmes, *Trend of the Race*, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Newsholme, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

It is in the educated and professional classes that the tendency to delay marriage shows itself. Holmes gives the following table, taken from Von Mayr, which gives the ages at marriage in Prussia for 1881-1886 according to occupation:

TABLE 10<sup>8</sup>

	Average age
Official class .....	33.41
Medical profession .....	31.76
Artists and writers.....	30.62
Army, navy, police.....	29.30
Day laborers .....	29.40
Metal workers .....	28.04
Factory employees (male).....	27.67
Factory employees (female).....	24.62

We know that delay of marriage necessarily affects the birth rate. From a study of the fertility of marriage in Scotland, Dunlop estimates that so far as the wife is concerned a delay of a year in her marriage reduces the size of the average family by one-third of a child. Between the ages of 20-25 a year's delay on the part of the wife means a difference of .45 of a child.<sup>9</sup> Without doubt the delay of several years in marriage among our professional and educated classes in many individual families actually results in no children being born at all. The years of fertility for one or the other of the couple pass before the marriage is finally consummated. In these cases at least the delay will add to the risk of divorce for nothing is clearer than that the having of children tends to reduce the danger of separations and divorce.

The later age at which our ambitious middle and professional classes marry must also influence divorce in another way. Habits become firmly set during the period of waiting

<sup>8</sup> Holmes, *Trend of the Race*, p. 150, Harcourt, Brace & Co.

<sup>9</sup> Bushee, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 395.

and the adjustments required by family life are less easily made than they would have been at an earlier time. Moreover, the freedom and economic advantages of the single life have been experienced long enough to give some of this group a disinclination to accept the limitations and sacrifices of marriage. On the other hand a large part of these men and women are delighted to have a home of their own at last and are in a position to appreciate fully its opportunities.

Education is chiefly responsible for the relative delay of marriage on the part of professional and well-educated classes. It becomes an obligation upon our schools and colleges to cut out all possible waste in the process of training so that marriage may not be delayed as a result of the period of instruction being unduly long. No one familiar with present educational practices will be in doubt as to the possibility of hurrying up training merely by making instruction more efficient and profitable. Any unnecessary lengthening of the pre-marriage vocational or professional period is a menace against social welfare since it strikes at the birth rate of a class that has too few children already. It tends to lower the birth rate among those who furnish to the state a high quality of offspring. In view of the seriousness of this problem it is natural that there should be advocates of social programs that are expected to make earlier marrying an economic possibility. Thus far there is no practicable scheme that has won any considerable support except the making of education more flexible and permitting the candidate for a profession to get his training more rapidly by more skillful and fruitful instruction.

**Divorce reform.**—The student of the divorce problem must keep constantly in mind the fact that the divorce evil registers social failure in the large sense. Everything that is working against wholesome social life anywhere operates upon the family. Imperfections in our educational training, industrial maladjustment, physical and mental disease, unprogres-



sive customs, everything that has an unwholesome effect upon the human personality makes it more difficult to produce the good home. Therefore the divorce evil must not be considered by itself nor can any great progress be made against it so long as it is isolated and thought of as a cause rather than a result of social unwholesomeness.

It is futile to expect to legislate for the reduction of divorces. The laws of some of our states are especially lax and there should be reform looking toward a reasonable and uniform divorce law throughout the country. This reform of our anarchistic condition must not be made use of to build up repressive legislation as a means of decreasing divorces. Such a policy in the light of present circumstances would be most unfortunate and would merely lead to a host of results more detrimental to social welfare than our present divorce difficulty. More stringent legislation would certainly hamper the progress we are now making against prostitution.

We can make no decided advance over the present status of things unless public opinion can be more thoroughly socialized and made serious with reference to the divorce evil. This attempt, which the present laxity of thought in regard to family breakdown will prove no small task, is essential if family reconstruction is to be carried forth successfully. It would be a great advantage if our press publicity of famous divorce trials could be restricted. This is likely to come about by a voluntary suppression of such material by the newspapers themselves, for without question newspaper ethics are moving toward higher standards. The famous trial reported at length and in detail in most of our newspapers is one of the deadly influences that work against wholesome home life and stimulate divorce.

Time is likely to reveal the fact that the trial itself needs to be essentially different in character. Instead of a legal controversy over whether certain acts have been committed or omitted, resulting in a justification of separation of the

married couple, legal procedure is likely to move more and more toward the thing which is the essential matter. The real questions at issue from a social viewpoint are: Must these two individuals be permanently separated? What is the nature of the predicament in which they find themselves? Are the difficulties such as make some agreement impossible? This point of view requires investigation rather than a legal struggle, and gradually the Court of Domestic Relations is progressing to a point where it can undertake the kind of settlement that is needed; and our legislation should further this until the present divorce trial shall have become a matter of the past.

It is apparent that our hope is mostly in education. Education has not failed; it has rather neglected its responsibility with reference to preparation for wholesome marriage and home making. Education that will give the social viewpoint in regard to this problem must be given to administrators and lawyers, for unless this group can see the divorce problem in its social setting they will hamper the progress that ought to take place. The education of these people is only a part of the larger process of socializing government and law. Those who create public opinion, such as ministers, newspaper men and teachers, must also get the social viewpoint or they too will work against family reconstruction. The sociologist and educator should assume the heroic task of leading makers of public opinion to a scientific attitude with reference to the divorce situation.

The need of education for the newly married and for those who are soon to become parents has already been stressed. This must be a major part of any permanent family reconstruction in our time. Once it was not so desperately needed because the homes were able to train more efficiently than at present. Moreover, the ordeal placed upon the family was less than it is now.

The present tendencies in education that make for the

socializing of our youth must go on since they represent, so far as public opinion is concerned, the basic element. Unless the schools can give us an education that relates itself more closely to the problems of social relationships, we can not expect any substantial improvement in family life. Fortunately the trend in education is to make public instruction contribute definitely and increasingly, as the student passes upward through the school, the material that has to do with the responsibilities of social life. Here again education has not failed; it has in the past been negligent. The promise of the future is most assuring for it is in moral idealism, the result of educational influences in the large sense, that we find grounds for optimism with reference to American family life.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

**The unmarried mother.**—No social problem has more pathos connected with it than that of the unmarried mother, as has been emphasized by Leffingwell in one of our first scientific studies of this subject:

“Against the background of history, too prominent to escape the observation from which it shrinks, stands a figure, mute, mournful, indescribably sad. It is a girl, holding in her arms the blessing and burden of motherhood, but in whose face one finds no traces of maternal joy and pride. There is scarcely a great writer of fiction who has not somewhere introduced this figure in the shifting panorama of romance, appealing for pity to a world which never fails to compassionate imaginary woes; now it is Effie Deans in the Heart of Midlothian; now Fantine, resting by the roadside with Cosette in her arms; or Hester Prynne, pressing little Pearl against the scarlet letter, as she listens from the pillory to the sermon of Mr. Dimmesdale. Who is this woman so pitiable, yet so scorned? It is the mother of the illegitimate child. By forbidden paths she has attained the grace of maternity; but its glory is for her transfigured into a badge of unutterable shame.”<sup>1</sup>

**Illegitimacy as a school problem.**—Fortunately for the teacher, illegitimacy is an uncommon school problem. Even a teacher who instructs adolescent girls may in a lifetime of service never have to deal with an actual case of illegitimacy, yet this is a problem that may at any time arise in school

<sup>1</sup> Leffingwell, *Illegitimacy*, pp. 1-2.

administration and, when it does, it usually proves the most perplexing, uncomfortable and distressing to handle of all the problems of school administration. However familiar a teacher may be with the unmarried mother in fiction, he is usually startled when brought face to face with a case of illegitimacy in flesh and blood. There are necessarily elements of risk in dealing with such a problem, and since the situation may most unexpectedly, without the least warning, confront the teacher every instructor of youth needs some understanding of the social meaning of illegitimacy.

The fact that it is so intimately related to vice must not prevent the teacher from considering illegitimacy from the social viewpoint with the same unprejudiced desire to get at causes and remedies that is expected of one who deals in the spirit of science with any other problem of society. When the teacher actually has to handle a case of illegitimacy there is usually need of quick decision. Stress of the immorality involved adds nothing to the insight demanded in handling the particular case at hand. Previous knowledge of the social significance of illegitimacy will not take the place of judgment in determining the policy of the teacher, but it will contribute a background of understanding without which the best endowment of good sense may be led astray.

Even if the teacher has the good fortune to escape full responsibility for the treatment of a case of illegitimacy, he is often asked to give counsel to those who are dealing with the case. In no other social problem is there such danger of allowing emotion or sentiment to determine one's policy and nowhere is there greater need of calm, clear thinking.

Each case must of course be treated by itself but nevertheless it is unwise to look upon any particular case as something that concerns only the individuals immediately involved. No case can be considered as a purely personal affair. Every case of illegitimacy from the nature of the problem has its social significance. It is related to the welfare of the group



as a whole. It has social inter-relations, it has outshooting ramifications that at first are unsuspected, and it is imperative that from the beginning it be recognized as a larger matter than merely the happiness or well-being of three or more individuals.

**Amount of illegitimacy.**—If one were to judge illegitimacy solely by the number of unmarried mothers in proportion to the whole number of women of child-bearing age it could not be reckoned as one of our major social problems. In England in 1918 the proportion of illegitimate births per thousand births was 63. In our country for the same year it was 16.7 in the birth registration area, varying from 6.3 in Kansas to 50.7 in Virginia, and being highest among the colored population.<sup>2</sup>

There are other reasons than size that justify giving illegitimacy special consideration. It is the kind of difficulty that the ordinary teacher is least prepared to meet, and yet it is always a possible problem for those who teach the older girls. It is also an interesting problem to study because it discloses as influences that result in illegitimacy primary social conditions that are major factors. Illegitimacy has connected with it for the sensitive person a peculiar pathos. Not that the unmarried mother is usually the victim in the sense that she is generally pictured in fiction, but rather she appears as a pathetic figure because of her negative weakness. She may be, indeed, in the larger sense a victim but one that was inwardly inviting trouble for herself. If she seems lacking, as she sometimes does, in the feelings that we regard as native to a mother we pity her all the more, for her deep-seated social deficiency shows itself all the more clearly.

**Statistics of illegitimacy.**—Statistics of illegitimacy are seldom accurate. In our country especially, the rate of illegitimacy is only an approximate statement; this is particularly true of the illegitimacy rate of the negro population.

<sup>2</sup> Newsholme, Vital Statistics, p. 91.

No statistics are more likely to be influenced by the desire for concealment for personal advantage. How far this covering up of illegitimacy may go we realize when we remember that Lord Nelson died thinking that the mother of his "little Horatia" had borne no other children; while Sir William Hamilton believed to the end in the fidelity of his wife.<sup>3</sup>

A suggestion of the way unmarried mothers' secretiveness affects the gathering of statistics crops out in the report of a city conference on illegitimacy:

"According to the City Registry and the agencies represented in the Conference there were 19,241 births in Boston during the year 1913. Of these 858, or about 4½ per cent, were illegitimate. This number included the names of 34 babies who were registered as children of married women, but whose mothers had acknowledged to different charities co-operating in this study that they were born out of wedlock. (This does not include illegitimate still-births, of which there were 47, nor a few other births not down on the Registry of births.)"<sup>4</sup>

Statistics of illegitimacy are never used safely as evidence of the amount of immorality in a community, class or nation. Vice includes a great quantity of immorality that does not show itself in the illegitimacy record. The rate of illegitimacy is based upon births among a group that are as a class comparatively ignorant. Unlawful sex experiences among the more intelligent women are much more likely to be concealed and not to result in illegitimate births. Records of illegitimacy are never by themselves trustworthy indices of the sexual ethics of any group of people.

The significance of abortion needs also to be constantly kept in mind when one interprets illegitimacy reports. A part of our population having financial means to obtain abortion, by recourse to this illegal way of preventing illegitimacy escape the stigma of unmarried motherhood. The public

<sup>3</sup> Leffingwell, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, Sept., 1914, p. 25.

records give no indication of the amount of immorality to be charged to this group. No one actually knows how much abortion we have in the United States or whether it is increasing or decreasing. It has been estimated that we have two million cases in this country each year. Professor East gives as his guess the more conservative figure of one half million. He forms his judgment on the fact that the fairly accurate investigations made on the subject in England and Germany lead to the conclusion that the annual rate is not over three per thousand of the population and he believes that because of our better economic conditions our rate is less than either England's or Germany's. He also thinks that abortion is decreasing in England, Holland, France, Australia, New Zealand and the United States.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand Holmes writes: "It is the general consensus of opinion among writers on the subject that abortion is on the increase, that it is more prevalent in the more civilized communities, and more common in cities than in the country."<sup>6</sup>

In his article on Illegitimacy in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Professor Ingram gave a table which shows the illegitimacy rate for various countries from 1876 to 1905.<sup>7</sup>

Table 12 compares the rate of illegitimacy in Boston with that in two other cities.

**Decrease of illegitimacy.**—In spite of the difficulty of getting accurate statistics as to the number of births outside of wedlock authorities generally agree that in nearly all civilized countries illegitimacy is decreasing. It is not clear whether this decrease is due to contraceptive measures or greater chastity, although the latter seems more probable to one familiar with the looseness of sex life even in the recent past. In England the illegitimate birth rate for each thousand unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five

<sup>5</sup> East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, pp. 262-63.

<sup>6</sup> Holmes, *Trend of the Race*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 184.

dropped from 14.4 in 1876-1880 to 7.8 in 1911-1915, a decrease of 45.9 per cent., while the legitimate birth rate for each thousand married women dropped from 296.3 to 189.7, a decrease of 36 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

TABLE 11  
ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 1000 BIRTHS (EXCLUDING STILLBORN)

	1876- 1880	1881- 1885	1886- 1890	1891- 1895	1896- 1900	1901- 1905
England and Wales.....	48	48	46	42	41	40
Scotland.....	85	83	81	74	68	64
Ireland.....	24	27	28	36	36	26
Denmark.....	101	100	95	94	96	101
Norway.....	84	81	75	71	74	...
Sweden.....	100	102	103	105	113	...
Finland.....	73	70	65	65	66	...
Russia.....	28	27	27	27	27	...
Austria.....	138	145	147	146	141	...
Hungary.....	73	79	82	85	90	94
Switzerland.....	47	48	47	46	45	...
Germany.....	87	92	92	91	90	84
Netherlands.....	31	30	32	31	27	23
Belgium.....	74	82	87	88	80	68
France.....	72	78	83	87	88	88
Portugal.....	...	...	123	122	121	...
Spain.....	...	...	...	...	49	44
Italy.....	72	76	74	69	62	56
New South Wales.....	42	44	49	60	69	70
Victoria.....	43	46	49	60	69	70
Queensland.....	39	41	44	48	59	65
South Australia.....	...	22	25	30	38	41
West Australia.....	...	...	...	48	51	42
Tasmania.....	...	44	38	46	57	...
New Zealand.....	23	29	32	38	44	45

**Death of illegitimate children.**—One of the serious social problems connected with illegitimacy is the high infant mortality that is found everywhere among illegitimate children. This greater death-rate of the illegitimate is seen in Table 13.

<sup>8</sup> Newsholme, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

TABLE 12<sup>9</sup>  
FOR YEAR 1910

CITY	POPULATION	NUMBER OF BIRTHS	NUMBER ILLEGI- TIMATE BIRTHS	PER CENT OF ILLEGI- TIMACY
Boston.....	670,585	17,786	673	3.783
St. Louis.....	687,029	15,368	...	.....
Manchester, Eng..	.....	19,213	764	3.976

FOR YEAR 1913

Boston.....	735,399	19,241	824	4.459
St. Louis.....	750,000	15,012	712	4.742
Manchester, Eng..	.....	19,052	769	4.036

TABLE 13<sup>10</sup>

AGE	DEATHS PER 1000 BIRTHS				PERCENTAGE	
	LEGITIMATE INFANTS		ILLEGITI- MATE INFANTS		MORTALITY OF ILLEGITIMATE OVER THAT OF LEGITIMATE INFANTS	
	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male
Under 4 weeks.....	38.3	29.2	69.0	55.6	+ 80	+ 90
4 weeks-3 months....	17.3	12.2	37.5	28.3	+117	+132
3-6 months.....	13.2	10.2	31.3	25.2	+137	+147
6-9 months.....	9.7	7.9	19.8	19.1	+104	+142
9-12 months.....	7.6	6.4	13.6	12.2	+ 79	+ 91
Total under 1 yr....	86.1	65.9	171.2	140.4	+ 99	+113

<sup>9</sup> *Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, Sept., 1914*, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> See Registrar-General's Annual Report for 1920, England and Wales.



The report of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy states that about 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of the number of illegitimate children born in Boston in 1913 had died by December 31, 1913. "This per cent would have been far larger had it been possible in making up the statistics to wait until December 31, 1914, when every child born in the year 1913 would be one year old." In commenting on this high mortality a child specialist wrote as follows:

"In reading over the causes of death, one is impressed by the tremendous number of what are probably preventable deaths, had proper precautions been taken. It seems to me it is poor economy for a number of charitable institutions to take great precautions and often go to considerable expense to be sure that a child is born alive, only to turn the child adrift at the end of one or two months in the charge of a mother who is often ignorant, and may regard the child as a burden and its death a relief.

"Probably almost every one of the babies that died of some one of the 'indigestions' or the 'infantile atrophies' (41 in all) would have lived if the child had received proper care. By this I do not mean that the child was necessarily sick or poorly treated at the place where the mother was delivered, but I do not believe that in most instances the child received proper care after its discharge from the institution, and when it was received at some other institution for treatment it was so far gone that little or nothing could be done for it.

"An institution where a girl is confined should take into consideration the kind of work that the mother is going to do when she leaves the institution. Is she or is she not going to be able to nurse her baby? If she is not to nurse her baby (and the great majority of them cannot do so) the baby should be placed on a simple formula and become well accustomed to it before leaving the institution, and furthermore, the mother should be taught to make the formula properly, and also WHY the formula is made. All this of course presupposes intelligence in the mother, and also a desire to properly care for her baby, something I am afraid that many of them lack."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, Sept., 1914*, p. 27.

It is of course impossible to discover how large a part of this excessive mortality is due to willful neglect or deliberate purpose. One familiar with the horrible treatment of illegitimate children as revealed by investigations that have been made of some of our notorious "baby farms" will be disposed to credit design with a considerable part of the mortality of illegitimate children. Leffingwell extracted from the Judicial Reports of England and Wales the following statement of the number of coroner's inquests held during six years simply upon illegitimate children under one year of age:

TABLE 14 <sup>12</sup>

	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	TOTAL SIX YEARS
Boys.....	482	498	560	583	541	555	3219
Girls.....	428	449	481	438	534	488	2818
Both Sexes....	910	947	1041	1021	1075	1043	6037

There are various and obvious social conditions associated with illegitimacy that contribute to the high mortality of illegitimate children, such as the poverty, lack of training, deficiency of intelligence, and weak affection for their offspring that on the whole characterize the group of unmarried mothers. To these influences that tend to cause an excessive death rate we must add congenital disease and poor heredity. To some eugenists the comparatively bad heredity of illegitimate children is sufficient explanation for the high mortality. For example, Popenoe, an American student, writes as follows:

"The typical illegitimate child, then, may be said to be the offspring of a young mother of inferior status mentally, morally, and economically; and of a father who is probably a little superior to the mother in age, mentality, and economic status, if not in morals.

<sup>12</sup> Leffingwell, op. cit., p. 72.

"The lack of records concerning illegitimate children, except during the first few months of life, makes it impossible to study the character of the offspring of such unions in the way that would be desirable. The frequency of mental defect and congenital syphilis in the population of orphanages, many of whose inmates are of illegitimate birth, doubtless reflects something of the facts; but the principal deduction statistically established is the high infant mortality which, in America as in most parts of the world, is two or three times the average. Many erroneous conclusions have been drawn from this fact. The mortality of illegitimate children ought to be above the average, because they do not form an average group, but one selected for abundance of natural handicaps, in addition to the social difficulties of the mother. While some of the high mortality is doubtless due to faulty feeding, consequent on the early separation of mother and child, a much larger part must be due to defective heredity, congenital syphilis, and similar handicaps. It is significant that, excluding diseases due directly to nutrition, the Boston investigation showed the mortality for the ordinary diseases of infancy (closely associated with heredity) to be two or three times the average. Before using the infant mortality rate to work up any more sympathy, the reformers might well publish a comparison with the rate in a really comparable group of legitimate children."<sup>13</sup>

No one, however, would advocate indifference to the greater risk of death that is forced upon the illegitimate child with all his other misfortunes. The eugenists merely desire to stress the fact that the greater death rate of children born out of wedlock is largely due to weaknesses in the heredity represented, and that along with efforts to decrease this death rate should go constructive efforts to diminish both the number of unmarried mothers and the quantity of their offspring. The social worker sympathizes with this program but insists also that the same humanitarian feelings that at so many

<sup>13</sup> Popenoe, Some Eugenic Aspects of Illegitimacy, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Dec., 1923, pp. 517-18, American Social Hygiene Association.

points mitigate a purely eugenic struggle and survival must express themselves in attempts to lighten the handicap of the illegitimate child just as they do in the case of the physically weak, the deformed and the insane.

**Social causes of illegitimacy.**—In the attempt to analyze the social causes of illegitimacy it is necessary to proceed with caution. Illegitimacy represents the culmination of a great many influences. In seeking its explanation one is concerned with human nature itself. Everything that affects character is related to illegitimacy. Under such circumstances it is futile to expect to find the definite causal relationships that appear when one is dealing with a chemical or physical problem.

Of course there are social influences that operate on the character of the unmarried mother, but these are so many and so intertwined that it is a hopeless task to try to assemble them in any particular case in precise order of strength. No cataloguing of these contributing causes in the mass of cases gives certainty as to the ones that predominate. The situation is too complex for the clear-cut causal analysis that we expect of the student of physical phenomena.

When we have brought together the various social conditions that without question contribute to illegitimacy we can never in a concrete case assume the operation of any specific cause. Conditions that in one case appear to account for illegitimacy in another case seem to have no significance at all. It helps one, however, to understand the meaning of illegitimacy if one brings together the various social influences that working together undoubtedly produce illegitimacy. That these different influences so operate is clear to any observer, they are so frequently found when one studies individual cases of illegitimacy. The personality of the unmarried mother is always involved. This personality is a social product, the result of countless environmental conditions from infancy, as well as of inheritance.

In any analysis of social conditions great stress must be placed on the significance of early life experiences. We know that in every human history these early events have much to do with determining the character of the person. When we deal with sex irregularities we usually find that childhood holds the key to the explanation of the origin of the trouble. Observers tell us of the early looseness of most of those who finally become unmarried mothers. Occasionally the child is conspicuous from early years for her unusual interest in sex and a deficiency in the modesty and attitudes that are ordinarily protective.

It is difficult to separate events of early childhood from the home life, but the home must be given a foremost place among the causes that lead to illegitimacy. A majority of the homes from which unmarried mothers come are socially unwholesome and predispose to one sort or another of bad social conduct. Indeed many of these homes are themselves unwholesome in ways of sex and the child's first wrongdoing comes in response to a distinct suggestion from the home life itself.

A third social force that has to be considered in an analysis of causes of illegitimacy is the habits of the associates of the unfortunate woman. Even when early life and home life have been otherwise good, comradeship with an individual of low standards or vicious habits is sufficient to start a demoralization which finally ends in the pregnancy of illegitimacy.

Students of illegitimacy have often tried to estimate the influence of rural environment as compared with urban environment on illegitimacy. Leffingwell<sup>14</sup> in his early study of the statistics of illegitimacy pointed out the high rate of births out of wedlock in rural sections of England and Wales. He found, for example, that three English counties near each

<sup>14</sup> Leffingwell, *Illegitimacy*, p. 34.



other seemed to increase in their proportion of illegitimacy according to their distance from London, and that this condition had been true for many years. The difficulty of getting accurate statistics of births and the even greater difficulty of knowing whether the birth rate charged to the country is a product of country or of city influences, since we know many country women go to the city to give birth to their illegitimate children and that many city women go to the country for the same purpose, makes the comparison nothing more than suggestive.

There are, however, certain rural influences that tend toward illegitimacy. The country tends to stress sex on account of the monotony of life and the lack of recreation. Children are often precocious in their knowledge of sex matters because of their close contact with animal life. The country offers great freedom for young boys and girls and the frankness and familiarity of country life association easily break down barriers. Opportunity to have sex relationships waits in every isolated spot, while in the city opportunity must be definitely sought.

The feeble-minded in the country are easily exploited, especially in ways of sex, and a certain proportion of them become illegitimate mothers. The same type of girl, equally exploited in the city, is most likely eventually to enter prostitution there; and perhaps, as the result of venereal disease, she will be sterilized early in her career and will be unable to give birth to any children, whereas the country feeble-minded girl may be an unmarried mother several times.

On the other hand city life has its conditions which tempt youth. Sex appeal is made by commercial enterprises and as a result the city youth are constantly stimulated. Two of our wisest observers of city life think that city youths are reacting to this stimulation to a greater extent than in former times. "Opinion is practically unanimous that for some

years there has been a gradual though appreciable tendency toward depreciation in moral tone among a great proportion of adolescent girls in tenement districts." <sup>15</sup>

The student of illegitimacy is apt to exaggerate differences in environmental conditions of country and city. The two environments primarily respond to the same fundamental social conditions so far as the prevention of illegitimacy is concerned. The social influences that color modern life are more largely urban than rural so that, even in the country, city standards would have a very significant influence on the conduct of the youth.

Some writers have tried to trace the effect of religion in the field of illegitimacy and have made an effort to prove that one form of religion leads to more illegitimacy than another. If this were true it would be impossible, nevertheless, to separate the causal factors entering into the problem in such a clear way as to be entirely sure of the causal situation.

Since Catholic Ireland has such a low rate of illegitimacy and Catholic Austria such a high rate, and since there is such variation in Protestant Scotland and Protestant England there has been a disposition on the part of other writers to insist that religion has no influence. Such a conclusion goes too far, for the facts justify only a statement that one can not trace accurately the influence of religion in reducing illegitimacy. It may well be that religious influence in Ireland does tend toward the decrease of illegitimacy. The reason why the influence of the Roman Catholic Church does not show the same result in Austria may be due either to the fact that other conditions are different or the influence of the church itself may not be the same in the two places. The same situation must be kept in mind in comparing variations in Protestant nations. One who is familiar with the individual unmarried mother would be unwilling to deny that religion

<sup>15</sup> Woods and Kennedy, *Young Working Girls*, p. 84.

tends to decrease illegitimacy, but would not expect to find its influence so predominating as to make it possible to estimate the illegitimacy rate according to the strength of religious influence.

Legislation certainly has an effect on the rate of illegitimacy. Anything that makes marriage difficult will of course increase illegitimacy. The easier marriage becomes, the fewer children will be born out of wedlock. This in itself is not sufficient argument for easy marriage laws; it merely points out the obvious fact that as we strengthen requirements for marriage we increase the tendency toward illegitimacy.

Although it is impossible to estimate the part played by economic motives in bringing about illegitimacy, it is certain that postponement of marriage due to economic causes has some influence. Such a delay tends toward an increase of illicit sexual experiences although even here other factors check or magnify the effect of the late marriage.

Efforts have been made to relate illegitimacy to the influence of race. A favorite conclusion among writers who have been interested in this aspect of the problem is the statement that the northern European races lean toward illegitimacy and the southern races do not. One who knows the anthropological background of European races would hesitate to draw such a conclusion from our present statistical facts. In a setting of such complicated social conditions there is no clear basis for estimating the proclivity toward illegitimacy of the three major European races, and the problem also would involve the difficulty of getting unmixed strains of Mediterranean, Alpine and Nordic racial influence.

In the United States there can be no question as to the difference between the whites and blacks in their rate of illegitimacy. Here again it seems unfair to charge to the colored people a racial tendency, when their social heritage and to a large extent present social conditions might be enough to account for their high rate. In order to get a clear notion

of how much race by itself is responsible for this unusually high rate of illegitimacy we should have the illegitimacy rate of the negro population according to class. Even if the racial difference is clearly operating, it must not be assumed that it is entirely race influence when there are so many social influences that operate excessively to produce illegitimacy at present in the negro population.

**The psychology of illegitimacy.**—When we turn from a consideration of social influences that encourage illegitimacy to a study of the character of the personality reactions we perceive at once the great importance of the psychology or, as it has been called, the mental hygiene aspect of illegitimacy.<sup>16</sup> The investigation of the problem from this mental angle reveals the mechanism by which the personality weakens before temptation and finally gets in trouble. In an attempt to analyze illegitimacy from this angle it is necessary to divide the unmarried mothers into two classes which we can roughly call the normal and the abnormal. The normal class includes those who are not suffering from mental disease or from feeble-mindedness. The abnormal class would be made up of those who are clearly afflicted by some nervous malady or who are properly classified as mentally deficient.

The first class of normal individuals has most interest for the teacher, for most of the problems of illegitimacy that arise in school come from the conduct of girls belonging to this division. It will help in the analysis of the problem, so far as it has to do with this first class, to separate it into two subordinate groups. In one we have girls who are lacking in normal inhibition and in the other those who are primarily exploited. It is of course impossible to make this division hard and fast and in actual diagnosis it is frequently next to impossible to know in which class the girl should be placed.

The psychological mechanisms that are most common as

<sup>16</sup> Kenworthy, *Mental Hygiene Aspects of Illegitimacy*, *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1921, pp. 499-508.

causes of illegitimacy among the normal individuals lacking in powers of inhibition are: inferiority complex, family fixation, and mental conflict.

**Inferiority complex.**—Anyone familiar with the way the inferiority complex operates upon character will expect to find some of the cases of illegitimacy resulting from chronic feelings of inferiority. Here, for example, is a young girl who has never received from men any marked attention. Perhaps she belongs to a family of unsavory reputation or it may be that she does not do very well in her studies at school. From the point of view of attractiveness she is merely an average girl. Nobody likes her very well. The socially dominating individuals of the class seldom associate with her, and never invite her to their homes; they look down on her and she knows it. She, however, has a body. It develops; she has normal biological powers. Some boy notices her and flatters her. This is an experience of which she has hitherto only dreamed. She means something to him; he pays attention to her. Here is a situation in which she is not inferior, from her point of view; she may be sought after. For the first time in her life she thinks she is worth something. Her worth happens to be sex. She does not think of that; she may not even know it. All she knows is that somebody likes her, wants to be with her, is very anxious to please her. She is delighted with this experience and she is intimate. There comes a time when that intimacy goes beyond anything she has imagined. It has been hard for her to hold it within bounds. If she had been asked if she would do this or that she might have said "No," but she has perhaps been handled by a skilled exploiter who knew how to manage her until the first thing she knows she is an unmarried mother.

This is the same problem we all have in other matters. Because it has happened in sex in her case her whole after life is crushed. How can that crushing process protect her sister? There is no room for prudence in her career. What



happens is simply that a starved life takes food that is offered it and feeds on poison. Instead of crushing the starved life, if society could keep it from being starved or see to it that the starved life received its nutriment in a different fashion, the outcome would be more wholesome.

Another common mechanism in mental hygiene that must be kept in mind by the student of illegitimacy is what is generally called father fixation, although perhaps for our purpose it had better be designated family fixation. In any relation between father and daughter or mother and daughter or between a girl and her male relative, there is necessarily an element of sex. This must not be thought of as abnormal. It is only when the sex element in such a relationship becomes prominent and takes a consciously physical form that we have any element of abnormality. Some of these unmarried mothers have been so intimate with father, brother, or uncle that their relationship has passed out of the normal into the clearly sexual. It would be difficult to estimate how often this is the actual beginning of the downward travel of the girl, but we do know that a large proportion of prostitutes have their first sex experience with male relatives and even, in a larger number of cases than one would suppose, with their own father.

A third and very common mechanism is what we call mental conflict. Dr. William Healy, from a very wide experience in handling delinquency, has demonstrated how much of bad conduct is due to what he designated mental conflict. The boy or girl suffering from a situation that is unduly disturbing gets relief by some misbehavior. In simple form we are all familiar with the mechanism, for when we are suffering from toothache or other pain we find it very easy to forget our difficulty temporarily by quarreling with someone or having a spell of anger. Among boys and girls mental conflict very easily finds relief in some form of anti-social conduct.

Now if we consider a girl in some tremendously serious mental conflict we can see how naturally she may drift into illicit sex experiences. Perhaps she has suddenly discovered that her father is a drunkard or a thief or that her mother has a bad reputation, or that her sister is feeble-minded, or that she is an illegitimate child or an orphan adopted by those whom she had supposed her own parents. She finds herself constantly dwelling on her unpleasant situation. She struggles to escape thinking about it. It creeps into her thought, however, at every opportunity. If we get at her dreams we find that she even dreams about it. Then comes, perhaps by accident, an opportunity of being very intimate with a man. The new experience is emotionally so captivating that it drowns out the ideas that have been foremost in her conflicts. She gives herself intensely to her new experiences. Under such circumstances it becomes easy for her gradually to go farther and farther until her conduct ends in unmarried motherhood. Her behavior is in no way different from that of the boy who breaks windows or steals to find relief from his misfortunes. The girl does not choose vicious conduct, but relief; the only way of escape that opens up to her is one that leads to her downfall.

In the second division of the two rated as normal, that in which the individual is exploited, it may seem at first strange to charge any amount of illegitimacy to lack of knowledge, but the actual facts demonstrate that there are such cases. There are girls who get into the class of unmarried mothers, not because of any viciousness, but merely because of their absolute ignorance. Anyone who is well acquainted with the lack of sex knowledge of a great number of our girls can readily imagine how innocence becomes a cause of illegitimacy. Even intelligent and careful parents have sometimes failed so utterly in meeting their children's need of instruction along lines of sex that they have been most fearfully punished by the social disaster of their son or daughter.

Another class of girls are easily exploited because of their desire to make use of their attractiveness to get recreation that they otherwise might not have, or luxury which would be denied. In some families, particularly among the foreign born, the girl is given too little spending money from her own earnings. This often makes her turn to men for the recreation she craves and as a result she may begin to go wrong. Girls who work in department stores or who by their daily occupation are constantly associated with wealth and conditions of luxury are especially tempted to satisfy their craving for standards of living denied them by their economic condition. The department store girl deals with people who are wealthy and spend money easily, showing her always their most superficial side.<sup>17</sup> She has cravings of an economic sort that are far beyond her ability to satisfy. She is constantly influenced by her position to spend more than she should on dress. She loves ornament, sees attractive things all about her, and handles things she can never hope to buy. She is led into temptation, as far as money is concerned. She can not steal money; the business management sees to that. But her temptation may lead her gradually into vice and occasionally she becomes an unmarried mother, though this is very seldom.

In the abnormal class we can distinguish the feeble-minded, the psychopathic, and the insane. In the feeble-minded group are those who needed special protection and have been exploited because of their lack of full mental endowment. They have not been strongly sexed. Probably the majority of feeble-minded girls who get in difficulty fall in this class. There is, however, a second class who discover the advantages that they can obtain by making use of their sex attractiveness. Sex can be made to yield greater profits in money than could be obtained by these feeble-minded girls in any other way. In studying the income of prostitutes we discover what an eco-

<sup>17</sup> Woods and Kennedy, *Young Working Girls*, p. 26.

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nomie advantage such girls may have as compared with what they can earn in decent employment. Even a low grade feeble-minded prostitute can earn from fifty to a hundred dollars a week, compared with the fourteen dollars a week her more intelligent sisters get for working as sales girls in some of our best department stores.

Then there is a small class of the feeble-minded that are unusually strong in sex impulse. In the psychopathic class, made up of those who suffer from nervous instability, are some who feel the sex urge excessively and at the same time are in conflict since their eager craving for social esteem makes it difficult for them to choose a line of conduct frowned upon by social convention. They are unable to sublimate normally and eventually may seek compensation for their inner conflict in conduct that leads them to unmarried motherhood. The epileptic is sometimes found in this class.

Fortunately, the insane type is one with which we do not often have to deal. Of course insanity can turn a person toward bad sex behavior as well as any other unsound conduct, and this it occasionally does.

**The policy of social taboo.**—Kindly and sympathetic persons have always felt that it is unjust that the illegitimate child should be so badly treated by society. The conventional attitude toward not only the unmarried mother but also her offspring is a striking illustration of the cruelty of herd instinct when social convention is violated. This antipathetic feeling of the herd is one of the strongest expressions of modern social taboo. Its purpose is obvious. It is the deep-seated conviction of the great majority of people that our present marriage system will be broken down if any sex laxity, and especially unmarried motherhood, is treated with leniency. The taboo, therefore, is put upon the innocent child as well as the mother, though the child has certainly had no part in bringing about his own misfortune.

Modern thought and feeling are rapidly setting against

this policy of social taboo. A more humane policy, especially with reference to the child, is not believed by most students of human nature to involve necessarily any encouragement of sex promiscuity. Other methods of protecting the family are more reliable than this blind taboo has been, for in the nature of things punishment that occurs after the event has much less influence upon behavior than those suppose who are unfamiliar with the mechanisms of human conduct.

**Responsibility of the father.**—There is an unmistakable tendency toward holding the father of the illegitimate child more responsible than he has been in times past. He is equally guilty with the mother in most cases; indeed in many cases he is doubtless the more guilty. It is being felt more and more that it must be insisted that the father of the illegitimate child has a large responsibility for his offspring, some wishing to go so far as to make him as responsible for his illegitimate child as he would be were the child born in wedlock. It has been found an advantage to make the failure to assume this parental responsibility a crime; this permits the state to bring the guilty party from a neighboring state to which he may have fled to escape his responsibility. The Massachusetts statute with reference to the responsibility of the father in cases of illegitimacy has been written with this object in mind; and experience has proven that it is an advantage to take the proceedings in such cases from the civil court to the criminal.

In practical experience it has been difficult to collect any considerable sum of money from most fathers who admit their responsibility for illegitimate children, and so the social worker has usually been satisfied with a judgment from the court calling for a weekly payment. It is no uncommon thing for the father to attempt to get rid of this obligation after a few weeks. Frequently he disappears and occasionally goes to another state in order to escape from the jurisdiction of the court.



In an attempt to strengthen the responsibility of the father there is risk of forgetting some of the dangers of stringent legislation. For example, if the father is to be held responsible for the support of the child he must also be permitted to have some jurisdiction over the child. This in actual practice would often prove very difficult of administration. A legal father, for instance, is responsible for all the debts of his children. If this is made to operate with reference to the illegitimate child it is obvious that the father must have some protection through his control of the child. In the case of a promiscuous woman paternal responsibility would be very difficult to determine by the legal processes now available. It has been held that anthropology and genealogy could furnish methods for solving most such problems. In Norway the law holds all the culpable males responsible, thus creating a collective paternal group. This has been criticized as hostile to the eugenic interests of the state.<sup>18</sup>

**The forced marriage.**—Many individuals who get interested in a concrete case of illegitimacy are concerned only with forcing a marriage between the father and mother of the child. A high school principal once was exceedingly happy that he had finally, by threatening to send a man to jail, forced him to marry a young woman for whom he denied that he had any affection, although he admitted responsibility for her pregnancy. When the principal was boasting of his success in dealing with the case, he was asked how long he expected the couple to live together, and what sort of family life they would be likely to have. Apparently he had not faced these problems, but when he did he was forced to admit that his solution was not a permanent one.

Unless there is real attachment between the two young people, of a quality that promises marriage stability, no lasting good comes from simply forcing the marriage. We are

<sup>18</sup> Popenoe, Some Eugenic Aspects of Illegitimacy, *Journal of Social Hygiene* Dec., 1923, p. 521.

told that most normally attractive unmarried mothers eventually marry, even if they keep their child, and that these later unions with men not the fathers of the children are usually successful. If the marriage is being forced by the parents as a last effort to protect the name of the daughter, it is well to emphasize the risk of such a marriage and the likelihood of a more advantageous later marriage.

**Disposition of the child.**—There is a temptation for social workers to commit themselves to one of two practices with unmarried mothers. One group almost always try to get the unmarried mother to give up her child for adoption; the other group are insistent upon the mother's keeping her child. It is obvious that whenever practical the mother should keep her child, but there are many considerations that have to enter into such a problem. In some cases the difficulty of earning a living is so great for an unmarried mother with a child that it seems too heavy a burden to ask her to undertake. The attitude of the mother toward the child is of importance in making a decision of policy. The mentality and vocational efficiency of the mother must also be taken into account; and the community to which she goes can not be eliminated from the problem. The question of what is to be done with the child can not therefore become merely a matter of routine, but must be determined as far as possible by good judgment in the light of all the facts involved.

**Reforms.**—Recently two regional conferences have met in Chicago and New York under the auspices of the Federal Children's Bureau. These conferences were attended by executives and officials and social workers who are particularly concerned with the problem of the child born out of wedlock. After a discussion dealing with the rights and responsibilities of the four parties interested in the problem of illegitimacy—the child, the mother, the father, and the state—a program was drawn up which represents the reforms that seem to be most feasible at the present time.

(1) **Birth Registration.** All births should be registered, but in the case of an illegitimate child the name of the father should be recorded on the birth certificate only after an adjudication of the child's paternity or on the written consent of the father. Births not clearly legitimate should be reported to a public agency responsible for child welfare.

(2) **Establishment of Paternity.** The mother should initiate proceedings to establish paternity. If she is unwilling to do this and the public agency to which the birth has been reported thinks it wise in the interests of the child to institute proceedings, it should do so.

(3) **Father's Responsibility for the Support of the Child.** The Chicago conference declared that the father of a child born out of wedlock should make adequate provision for the care, maintenance and education of the child, having reference to the father's economic condition. The New York conference went further and declared that the obligations for support on the part of the father should be the same for the child born out of wedlock as for the legitimate child. It was agreed that the court should have continuing jurisdiction with reference to both custody and support during the minority of the child.

(4) **Inheritance and Name.** After an adjudication of paternity the child should have the same rights of inheritance as the child born in wedlock. The use of the name of the father should be permissive after such an adjudication or acknowledgment.

(5) **Care by the Mother.** It was recommended that the mother should be persuaded to keep her child at least during the nursing period, longer if the circumstances made it possible.

(6) **State Supervision.** The need of state supervision of children born out of wedlock was emphasized. Parents should not be permitted to surrender children for adoption or transfer guardianship or place them permanently out for care

without the consent of the court or state department responsible. The state should license and supervise all private hospitals which receive unmarried mothers for confinement, and all child-placing agencies that are under private management.

In our commendable desire to relieve the unmarried mother and her child of the unnecessarily cruel load which society for so long has been placing upon them, we must not forget the difficulties of legislating with regard to so complicated a problem. "We do not want ineffective laws; still more we do not want laws that will encourage what we desire most to suppress and imperil what most we wish to preserve. Hasty and ill-considered legislation on these points is fraught with unsuspected dangers. In any attempt to go further in an effort at fairness to innocent children or to unmarried mothers who now overpay society in suffering and shame for their unconsidered acts, let us be as sure as thought and study can make us that the disadvantages we seek to eradicate are greater than those that we invite." <sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy*, p. 6.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SETTLEMENTS AND THE CITY NEIGHBORHOOD

**Origin of the settlement.**—The social settlement will always have special interest for teachers and students because it represents the most distinctive social contribution that came during the nineteenth century from the university circle. From the beginning the settlement had an attitude toward social problems that gave it a uniqueness. When Jane Addams started Hull House her first resident was a charming old lady who had years before lived at Brook Farm. She came to visit at Hull House because she said she wished once more to live in an atmosphere where idealism ran high. It was by this quality of idealism that the settlement movement both expressed the finer spirit of the university students of England and America and also attracted them to the new work of brotherhood that did not smack of old-time charity or missionary enterprise.

Although the social settlement came into being at a definite time of organization, it had in common with most social movements a long preceding preparation. The social settlement received its first emphasis from the work of the Christian Socialists, in spite of the superficial judgment of contemporary history that the Christian Socialist movement issued in flat failure. As we now look back upon it we can see that it produced an enormous fruit of social influence. The Christian Socialist movement revolved about the personality of Frederick Maurice. He united in himself a philosophical interpretation of human brotherhood and an exceptional prac-



ticality not often to be found among theologians. His educational work, particularly as carried forth in his Workman's College, suggested what afterward became the social settlement. Maurice gathered about him one of the most stimulating groups joined by a common interest during the nineteenth century.

After experimenting with coöperative organizations and advancing the workman's cause by tracts and other publications, Maurice and his followers gradually settled down to a more fundamental educational service. Maurice enlisted the sympathy of a number of young university men, among them Ruskin, Burne-Jones and Rossetti, who gave some of their time to the teaching of working men. Maurice also brought to Workman's College from time to time a number of the prominent scientists and public men of England. Edward Denison, an Oxford graduate, came under the influence of Ruskin and was led to take a sympathetic interest in the workman's movement. Looking forward to a career in the House of Commons, in which his uncle was Speaker, he chose to prepare himself for his new responsibilities in part by obtaining personal knowledge of the life of the toilers. With this in mind he offered his services to the London Society for the Relief of Distress and was given an assignment in one of its East End branches. He soon came to feel the superficiality of merely relieving distress; and in 1867, during a period of industrial depression, he made up his mind to live in the district where he had been working as a visitor. Denison felt very strongly that little progress could be made in solving the problems of the poor by any other method than giving them the means of self help. "I have been busy and muddled and worried lately," he writes under date of December 24, 1867.

"Things are so bad down here and giving money away only makes them worse. I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake and that the real thing is to

let things work themselves straight; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build schoolhouses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workers' clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains; but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings alone."<sup>1</sup>

Ruskin watched Denison's venture with sympathetic concern. Ruskin had already become interested in improving tenement conditions, and was assisting Octavia Hill in her magnificent projects. The local vicar of the section of London in which Denison had taken refuge, John Richard Greene, was also following the experiment of Denison with intense interest. Finally Denison, Greene, Ruskin and a few others met to consider the organization of a colony. Had it not been for the failure of Denison's health within the year, the University Settlement would have been founded in 1868 instead of 1884.

In 1869 a recent Oxford graduate, Samuel A. Barnett, was offered the discouraging parish of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. The Bishop of London in offering the parish wrote: "Don't hurry in your decision; it is the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles."<sup>2</sup>

As Mr. Barnett had already become interested in social work through the enthusiasm of Octavia Hill and her friend, later his wife, Henrietta Roland, he accepted the position and soon began to enlist the sympathy of Oxford students in his work as he now and then returned to his university and spoke about the needs of the poor.

One of the first of these young followers to go to work seriously at Whitechapel was Arnold Toynbee. He was an occasional guest at St. Jude's vicarage, and in the summer of 1875 took part in the club and guild work of the parish and acted as a visitor for the Charity Organization Society. Al-

<sup>1</sup> Woods and Kennedy, *Settlement Horizon*, p. 19, Houghton Mifflin Co.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett, *Canon Barnett*, p. 68, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

though Toynbee's career was short, since he died in his thirty-first year, his work had so deeply attracted the university group that when, a little later, the first social settlement actually started it was called Toynbee Hall in commemoration of him.

In June, 1883, the Barnetts were told that some men at St. John's College, Cambridge, desired to serve the poor but were not willing to start an ordinary college mission. Mr. Barnett was asked to suggest some other scheme.

"The letter came as we were leaving for Oxford and was slipped with others into my husband's pocket. Soon something went wrong with the engine and delayed the train so long that the passengers were allowed to get out. We seated ourselves on the railway bank, just then glorified by masses of ox-eye daisies, and then he wrote a letter suggesting that men might hire a house, where they could come for short or long periods, and, living in an industrial quarter, learn to 'sup sorrow with the poor.'"<sup>3</sup>

As a result of his suggestion, which was interpreted in greater detail in a paper given by Mr. Barnett, entitled "A University Settlement in East London,"<sup>4</sup> the first settlement, Toynbee Hall, was finally launched in a building adjoining St. Jude's; and on Christmas, 1884, the residents first slept in the hall.

The social settlement had its beginning in the United States in the Neighborhood Guild which was started in 1887 by Dr. Stanton Coit. Dr. Coit had lived for a short time at Toynbee Hall and returning to New York went to live in a tenement on the lower East Side. After four years' existence as the Neighborhood Guild this enterprise became in 1891 the University Settlement Society. It is rather amusing to read of the impression that Stanton Coit made upon his neighbors at first. One story that started was that he was

<sup>3</sup> Barnett. Canon Barnett, pp. 308-9, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 310.

the cast-off son of wealthy parents, and that he had come to the East Side to struggle with the pinches of poverty. The expressman that called to move his goods downtown, on finding that there was no error in the street number to which they were to go, decided that Mr. Coit was lacking in sanity. Mr. Coit's venture received publicity from the press, and increased in its influence and usefulness as it became better understood by the people with whom he had come to live.

Hull House started in Chicago as the result of the pioneering spirit of Jane Addams, who had also been stimulated by a visit to Toynbee Hall. In September, 1889, Miss Addams and Miss Starr, her colleague, went into an old mansion on Halsted Street and established Hull House, which has made such a profound impression upon social service the world around.

The third American settlement came from the interest of Smith College alumnae in the new philanthropic work in England, particularly in Toynbee Hall. It was known as the College Settlement, and was located in New York. Soon after its origin, the College Settlement Association was formed, with chapters in Wellesley, Smith, Vassar and Bryn Mawr. This organization later became the Intercollegiate Community Service Association, with chapters in various co-educational and women's colleges, and girls' schools.

The next American settlement was established through the initiative of Professor William J. Tucker of Andover Theological Seminary, later President of Dartmouth College. This was founded at Boston and was known as the Andover House until 1895, when its name was changed to the South End House. Robert A. Woods, who has contributed so much of wisdom to the settlement movement, became the head of the house. The South End House stressed education and study, but gradually extended its activities until now it contributes in a multitude of ways to the life of Boston, particularly to the South End neighborhood.

The Henry Street Settlement, begun in 1893 on the East Side in New York, came into being in the effort to give to the neighborhood the voluntary nursing which was so desperately needed. Miss Lillian D. Wald and Miss Mary M. Brewster finally established themselves at 265 Henry Street, and as a result settlement activities with emphasis upon nursing gradually developed.

**The settlement point of view.**—The social settlement brought to modern philanthropy a very definite point of view. It was an attempt by those who had been given the advantages of university experience to contribute of their resources to people less fortunate. This contribution, however, was not made in the usual missionary spirit of superiors meeting the need of those on a lower level. Although some only superficially acquainted with the settlement movement think of it as an attempt to elevate by contact, such a phrase is most misleading.

From the beginning it was recognized that the so-called lower classes had as much to give the university circle as could be brought to the poor people by those who had been more fortunate in the training received. It was not a patronizing bestowal of help by the academic group to the poor and unfortunate but an attempt at normal human relationship between two groups that had more in common than appeared on the surface. If the settlement workers brought direction and inspiration, they nevertheless sought to bring to sharper consciousness and more effective expression the resources of the neighborhood. The spirit of self-help was to be sacredly guarded.

Of course it followed that if the university training had any vitality it became an effective influence among the people with whom the residents had contact. In spirit the settlement was a wholesome family, using its normal associations to bring about better neighborhood life, in which each member



of the community was expected to contribute according to his possibilities.

Anyone familiar with the idealism that can so easily be fanned into an emotional expression among college students will recognize the substantial contribution that the university settlement movement has to give the thought and feeling of the university. Unless universities can be tied up to some practical social service without at the same time creating in those who offer themselves for definite work a sense of inherent superiority, no amount of investigation or study of social problems can save the institutions of higher learning from a selfish and deceptive isolation. Imperceptibly but strongly, the current of university life sets itself away from outside life unless there be constant compelling motives for wide and sympathetic social contacts. The moral risk is even greater than the intellectual blindness if college students develop any type of class-mindedness. Intellectual advantage carries with it a temptation ever to be found when one receives special opportunities. If the danger of group exclusiveness is ever present and insidious, there are of course many corrective influences.

One of these is certainly the social settlement, and the settlement movement does its share in giving a wholesome attitude to the student class, even though only a very few of the college men and women or of the graduates of universities ever personally engage in settlement service.

The social settlement stands firmly for careful, scientific study of social conditions in the neighborhood where it works. It allies itself with the scientific spirit of our time and recognizes that the first need in getting helpful contact is accurate knowledge. Science and sympathy are not antagonistic but supplementary to each other. To lack either is to be ill prepared to deal with those who are poor or in unfortunate circumstances. Thus the point of view of the settlement is

thoroughly modern and constructive. There will always be a multitude of kind-hearted people willing to express good feeling, who will resent any effort to get a causal understanding of the circumstances that they try to relieve. A great deal of modern philanthropy is not only wasteful but without any question distinctly harmful because it has catered too much to the benevolent-minded and has never taken seriously the scientific approach. The development of expert technique represents a type of scientific efficiency but it does not give the spirit of science to any undertaking; science comes from searching out causes. From its inception the social settlement has seen the value of science as a remedial agency.

Even the social settlement, in spite of its selected class of workers, has made less of science than it is likely to do in the future, but from the beginning until now it has at least borne testimony to the absolute need of the social worker's having a sense of social strategy and a deep interest in the social influences that make or mar character.

**The settlement and home life.**—The social settlement has a unique opportunity in its ability to emphasize family life. Its organization is of a family type, and even though it does not represent the ordinary individual family circle it comes much closer to this than any other form of philanthropic organization. It tries to meet the neighborhood in a natural, human, everyday sort of way and to prove its neighborliness. Thus it has a sense of the normal home atmosphere that is so sadly absent from every other form of institutional social service. As a result, the settlement has the greatest opportunity of any social agency to upbuild family life. The case worker comes and goes. She does not belong to the neighborhood and however interested she may be in an individual family she must always have for the person whom she helps an element of aloofness. She belongs to another world, but the settlement worker is at home in the neighborhood. The influence of the settlement upon family life can therefore be

very great. The settlement soon interests itself in everything in the neighborhood that makes for family welfare: it must be concerned with conditions of sanitation since it knows them at first hand and sees constantly the bad results of any unwholesome condition. The same thing is true of the recreation, education, or political life of the neighborhood.

**Social settlement strategy.**—Although the social settlement encourages every movement that makes for neighborhood prosperity, it does not necessarily itself, through its workers, take a prominent place in the various organizations that are created for neighborhood advantage. As a matter of strategy, in justice to the need of self-development of neighborhood forces, the settlement consciously strives to keep in the background so far as holding office is concerned.

Every form of organization, such as trade unions, workmen's clubs, temperance societies, and even political clubs, has a right to expect from the settlement all possible assistance. The settlement workers have to establish friendly relations, whenever possible, with officers of the law, teachers in the schools, agents of charitable societies, and clergymen of the different denominations. With reference to the matter of religion there are several policies. Some settlements are avowedly religious and ally themselves with those religious forces in the community with which they have sympathy. Other settlements take a neutral attitude toward religious organizations, however sympathetic they may be with the social activities of the various churches. Without being ecclesiastical in any degree, the social settlement may show its interest in the religious life of the neighborhood; in the deepest sense it therefore may be religious by doing its part to further the religious idealism of the neighborhood without making any sectarian appeal.

**The wider outlook of the settlement.**—Although a social settlement finds itself in a definite locality and assumes its own neighborhood responsibilities, it has obligations toward

the city as a whole. Since the city life flows into the neighborhood the settlement can not concern itself merely with neighborhood interests; it must attend to the municipal administration, the educational activities, and the political life of the entire city.

Toynbee Hall has had its representatives on the London County Council and at least two representatives on the London School Board. Robert A. Woods of Boston assumed a very difficult position on the licensing board in the days preceding prohibition, and although his administration did not win the enthusiasm of politicians, it was just and for the welfare of the citizens as a whole. Circumstances at one time forced Jane Addams to become responsible for the collection of garbage for the city of Chicago. The influence of the social settlement naturally spreads out from its neighborhood; its power is so great that it has had to be safeguarded by wise generalship for there are always interests that attempt to exploit it. Although in its city activities it has to be circumspect in what it stands back of and what it opposes, it can not meet its responsibilities by merely tying itself to the neighborhood interests. The development of keen neighborhood spirit does not in any sense antagonize this wider municipal viewpoint.

**Workers of the social settlement.**—At first the workers of the social settlements were men and women who were not under the necessity of earning their own living. Canon Barnett believed that it would be an advantage to have university men of independent means as workers; and that if it were free from the need of soliciting its maintenance, the social settlement would avoid dangers that go with the conventional charitable organization. It was thought by the settlement leaders at first that in every city would be found a good many young men and women without any specific vocation, who had the desire and training necessary for successful settlement service.

In America, however, it was seen to be more in keeping with public opinion to make a modest financial provision, and from the recent graduates of the universities came workers who for the most part had to make their own living.

The policy of the settlements was slowly built up from actual experience. The head worker gradually developed his administrative responsibilities. The question arose in the first days of the settlement movement whether the workers were to be rigorously restricted to college graduates. Common sense ruled with reference to this and teachers, nurses and others who could contribute service of value in the settlement were taken in, whether or not they were college graduates. Another question that experience had to decide was how the men and women should divide their work. At first households were generally restricted to men or women. In the west as a result of coeducation there soon developed a household of both men and women, and after a time the earlier monastic isolation was for the most part abandoned. Women have had a larger influence in the settlement in this country than in England. This is not the only evidence of the adaptability of the settlement to national conditions, for although the spirit and object of the settlement had English origins the American settlement was from its inception adjusted to American habits and needs.

**Social inspiration.**—Difficult as was the novel task the settlement took over, it at once made its neighborhood influence felt, chiefly because of the character of its first workers. These young men and women who enlisted in the settlement undertaking had many of them received, in American and foreign graduate schools, extended special training and a sympathetic contact with the natural science of their time. Since science at this period was looking at its problems from the point of view of atom and cell, these young people were inclined to take the same general notion into their work, and



saw in the family and the neighborhood the elemental influences that appeared in more complex form in city and civilization.

Full credit must be given to the inspiration that came from England, to the value of which Robert A. Woods bears testimony.<sup>5</sup> Charles Booth's careful survey of London became for the settlement workers a model of social accuracy, and the American workers studied their neighborhoods and made social investigations with eager desire to achieve on a smaller scale information equally trustworthy.

The policy of the Fabian Society in attempting to demonstrate municipal socialism by actual experimental evidence gave the American students of city government a sense of the need of fixing upon specific objects of city reform. The work of the London County Council led to the same idea of definiteness in municipal improvement. An encouragement that came from American experience was the work of Theodore Roosevelt, who accepted the task of police commissioner of New York City in 1895. Roosevelt revealed the quality of service that a university trained man, who entered public life with high ideals and translated them into practical expression, could give; and the example was far-reaching in its quickening effect upon the idealism of the socially-minded college graduate and settlement worker. Every influence that was leading social thinking away from the *laissez faire* of the earlier period, which had rested comfortably under the dominance of Huxlian ethics: the preaching of Ruskin and Tolstoy, the writings of Henry George, the compelling portrayal of poverty conditions by Jacob Riis, all working together in creating a sense of social concern, fed the idealism that made the settlement possible and useful.

**The settlements and education.**—The settlement movement was essentially an educational attack upon unwholesome conditions in the city. By its insistence upon an educational

<sup>5</sup> Woods and Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon*, pp. 59-60.

service the settlement was able to make the contribution that will prove in the end its best fruit. Jane Addams has well stated the settlement attitude, when she wrote of highly specialized study-groups: "But while we prize these classes as we do the help we are able to give to the exceptional young man or woman who reaches the college and university and leaves the neighborhood of his childhood behind him, the residents of Hull House feel increasingly that the educational efforts of a Settlement should not be directed primarily to reproduce the college but to work out a method and an ideal adapted to the immediate situation."<sup>6</sup> It was in this effort to work out a method and an ideal adapted to the neighborhood that the settlement made its most effective impression upon educational practice and program.

As good social strategists, the settlement workers began their neighborhood investigations with visits to the schools. As they met parents they constantly tried to build up a more sympathetic understanding between them and the teachers. As they went into the homes they tried to show parents the advantage of keeping their children in the schools. They discovered the very promising children and assisted them in getting high school and college training. In short, the staff of the settlements appreciated to the full the social ally they had in the public school and did their utmost to strengthen its influence.

Anyone familiar with city conditions at this period will realize that in their concern for good public schools for the neighborhood the settlements came up against some disagreeable practical problems. It was in the poorest section of the city that the least adequate schools were found. The buildings were often old and unfit, classes were too large and teachers at times the least efficient. The deadening effect of political influence was apparent.

<sup>6</sup> Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, pp. 435-36, Macmillan.

"Hull House rescued a school building from the grip of a ward heeler who had appropriated the land on which it stood as a factory site, even though the number of sittings were insufficient to accommodate all children in the ward. College Settlement, New York, when an unusually large number of first-grade children were denied to public school, made itself responsible for the grade, providing room and teacher."<sup>7</sup>

The settlement workers took an active part in the fight to keep the schools out of politics. They worked together without concern for their party preferences in the effort to elect on the school boards the right kind of men and women. Residents even served, as did Jane Addams, upon the central school boards.

The settlements were also actively interested in all sorts of efforts to improve the physical health of school children. They found children with defects excluded from the schools and made it part of their responsibility to find a way to get them fit for school work and back in the schoolroom. They even became truant officers and in this way came squarely face to face with the causes that kept children in the streets and away from school.

Undernourishment was quickly diagnosed as one of the serious school problems and efforts were made to discover the causes of the hungry and anemic children. In some cases settlements undertook the rôle of providing good food and drink in penny portions to the pupils of neighboring schools. Sick children were found to be neglected or their parents ignorant of the need or means of getting help. If parents could be persuaded, such children were taken to the appropriate clinics or hospitals. Tuberculosis was, of course, the outstanding problem and the new knowledge of the value of food, air and rest in averting this disease led settlements to start open-air classes for children threatened by it.

<sup>7</sup> Woods and Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon*, p. 275.

As a result of settlement influence there started in New York a practical method of relating parents and teachers, worked out by Mary Marot, and then developed into what we now know as home and school visiting. This met a great need, especially in the most crowded tenement districts, and brought to the children the protection from exploitation and abuse that are so easily concealed from the authorities of the law among the transitory dwellers in the most congested quarters of our cities.

The settlements were forced to do more than merely cooperate with the existing schools. There was evident need of lines of educational work that the public school for one reason or another could not undertake. The settlements by providing classes in hand work and homemaking did much to encourage the development of vocational instruction in the public schools. Sometimes classes in handwork and homemaking were carried on jointly by settlements and school boards. Instruction in homemaking has followed in the schools along the lines originated by the settlements with increasing emphasis upon the cottage or tenement form of teaching.

The greatest educational service of the settlement has been its club work, which, although recreational in form, is rightly regarded by the settlements as training in association. This form of settlement activity was so urgently needed that, as Miss Addams states, no mistake in management on the part of the settlements could prevent its development.

In its present program the settlement makes the club its chief method of neighborhood contact. It has clubs for various ages and for both men and women. Usually the clubs are small. The club is, as a rule, a group of boys or girls drawn together by some common interest or sympathy. Often a boys' gang is incorporated directly into the settlement after having been formed by the boys themselves. The settlement assumes responsibility for a director. Its success in bringing

to the club wholesome influence largely depends upon this director, who has to have the tact and good sense necessary for a leadership that is accepted as friendliness and not as interpolated authority. The finding of these leaders, who have to be volunteers since the staff is not large enough to care for the great number of clubs, has been from the beginning one of the most serious of all the problems of the settlement.

This club work has received the criticism that it comes to nothing definite at the end, that it merely dissolves as the members go away, marry or take up other interests. The same fault is to be found with any educational effort that must justify itself by its power to prepare for life. The school diploma, for example, is a mere arbitrary statement which attempts to give a sense of final attainment to an extended course of study, but when the preparation has failed the certificate has no real value. The settlement's club work in the same way must be tested not by the permanence of the individual clubs but by the influence of the group organizations upon the character and life attitude of the members in their later career. Viewed from this angle the clubs have a large educational value besides a strong appeal as recreation.

Drama and debating are like clubs in their two-fold significance. Clubs are frequently formed around a dramatic or discussion interest. The human interest in dramatic representation, strong in all children and many youths, won the proper place in the settlement program after creeping in through minor forms of acting such as recitations, cantatas and recitals. Soon it was evident that dramatics, both because of their appeal and also because of their character influence, must be frankly recognized as one of the useful methods of reaching the young. Starting with amateur theatricals, the dramatic interest has been developed to such notable success as is represented by the work of the Hull House Players in Chicago and the Neighborhood Theater in New York.



Debates and public discussions were from the beginning represented in the settlement program. With the coming of the forum, most settlements made use of this modern attempt at democratic discussion. As in England, so here, the settlements also brought upon the platform from time to time men of social prestige, whose messages with reference to questions of the day were sure to start discussion and stimulate thought.

No idea of the educational work of the settlement would convey the spirit of its undertakings if its art instruction were ignored. In the beginning the settlement brought into the neighborhood musicians of established reputation; gradually it was led to encourage the development of the musical ability of its own clientele. Children's choruses naturally came early. At present bands, orchestras, community singing and special musical entertainments such as operettas are encouraged by the settlements, if not actually organized by them. The Hull House Music School was established in 1893 and has for its purpose the discovering and training of children who are promising candidates for thorough professional preparation in music. With a different policy the East Side Music School of the College Settlement, New York, sought to assist all children who had a real desire to obtain instruction in music. Since 1900 as a result of the example of these two enterprises many settlements have organized music schools either as part of their work or as independent institutions with their own staff.

The influence of Canon Barnett who made such a spectacular success of the Whitechapel Art Exhibit, and the artistic interest of Miss Addams and Miss Starr, founders of Hull House, fortunately led the settlements everywhere to cultivate the fine arts in their neighborhood service. Consequently the settlement soon discovered in its district lovers of art and also some gifted in painting, carving, the production of laces and other forms of craftsmanship. By recog-

nition of this talent the settlement was able to add a spiritual flavor to its work without which the entire movement would have traveled on a lower plane. Classes were the natural outcome of this art interest of the various settlements, and after learning from experience the most appealing program, instruction was finally offered in such artistic production as basketry, weaving, metal-work, pottery, wood-carving and lace-making. In their different ways of bearing testimony to the worth of beauty and creation, the settlements directed the like-minded of their neighborhood into active expression of their inner artistic cravings.

**Administration of the settlement.**—The actual management of the settlement is in the hands of the head worker who needs every quality of the good executive. He must deal with trustees, staff and neighborhood. He needs force, vision, and sympathy, and especially tact. His strength of character must show in effective leadership and yet, unlike the business executive, he rarely succeeds if his ability to lead tends to crush the initiative of the stronger members of his staff. His household control also gives many vexing problems that do not concern the ordinary business executive.

The head must gather his staff and direct their services. As with college presidents, one of his tests will always be whether he prefers to bring onto his staff the stronger type of personality who may demand most of him in ways of administrative skill, or whether his method of achieving harmony consists in surrounding himself with mediocrities.

The head must accept the responsibility of dealing with the volunteers. These are usually without the sense of obligation of the paid worker and yet they perform an indispensable part in the work of the settlement. The motives that bring the volunteers to the settlement are various and of unequal seriousness. Upon the head falls the task of detecting the really promising and leading them into sympathetic relationship with those they try to serve, and of getting

rid of those who are not prepared to carry out their undertaking.

**The support of the settlement.**—Like most philanthropic organizations the settlement finds among its serious problems that of financial support. Some settlements have an endowment, but few have made any great effort to build up a fund for maintenance, such as most universities have. Indeed some workers doubt the wisdom of attempting to endow settlements, believing that with the establishment of an endowment there follows a loss in vitality and flexibility.

The settlements are therefore largely supported by gifts. With special needs for new work arising constantly it would be difficult to set aside any of the incoming gifts for an endowment fund.

The usual body responsible for the raising and use of funds is a board of managers or trustees. This board is commonly made up of persons of means or influence who do not as a rule live in the neighborhood. There are other settlements, however, that do have the neighborhood represented upon the board of control. Some settlements obtain a part of their support from people living in the neighborhood, in the form of small gifts which in the mass amount to a considerable sum. Others consider it an unwise policy to take gifts from the people whose needs are the cause of the settlement's being present.

Almost all settlements charge dues for various kinds of membership and the money taken in aids in meeting the financial costs of the undertaking. Special contributions are obtained throughout the city for specific undertakings and especially for new types of work, more or less experimental. Social organizations of wealthy young women, for example, at times assume the responsibility for some new type of promising work. Occasionally industries in the neighborhood grant to the settlement a yearly contribution which is based on the value of the settlement to the general social welfare of the

neighborhood. It is obvious, however, that any settlement which gets much of its support in this way runs the risk of having its motives looked upon with suspicion by those whom it tries to serve, and of being hampered thereby in its usefulness.

## CHAPTER IX

### PUBLIC HEALTH

**The development of public health.**—Man has always been interested in health. Even the savage, with his superstitious efforts to protect himself from disease which he considers the work of evil spirits, gives testimony to human interest in getting rid of illness. But it is only in comparatively recent times that there has been any decided interest in public health as a social problem. We owe the beginning of the modern health program largely to the desperate conditions of the poor in Europe following the Industrial Revolution. England was perhaps the first country to face the evil consequences of the concentration of population in the manufacturing towns. In England the pioneers in bringing about better sanitation and more wholesome health conditions were: Edward Chadwick, who as Commissioner of the Poor Law discovered the interrelation of poverty and ill health; Southwood Smith, who took so prominent a part in agitating against the slums of England; and Sir John Simon, who became the successful medical officer of the city of London and carried into practice some of the principles of the rapidly developing science of sanitary engineering. The movement for better living conditions in England was greatly furthered by an epidemic of cholera which perhaps made it possible for the reformers to obtain their support. Before a select committee of the House of Commons in 1840 Southwood Smith, in describing the horrible conditions of the working classes, said of the suffering:



"All this might be averted. These poor people are victims that are sacrificed. The effect is the same as if twenty or thirty thousand of them were annually taken out of their homes and put to death: the only difference being that they are left in them to die."<sup>1</sup>

Southwood Smith interested Charles Dickens, Lord Normanby, who was the Home Secretary, and Ashley Cooper, whom we know as Lord Shaftesbury. After a trip through East London, Ashley wrote in his diary:

"No pen nor paint-brush could describe the thing as it is. One whiff of Cowyard, Blue Anchor or Bakers Court, outweighs ten pages of letterpress. And yet the remedial Bills for ventilation, drainage, and future construction of the houses of the poor, brought in carefully and anxiously by the late Government, are not to be adopted by this: so I was informed this evening, and I blessed God that I formed no part of it."<sup>2</sup>

Several bills attempting health reform were entered in Parliament but failed of passage until 1848, when the first Public Health Bill was passed. The sanitation reform proved its worth at its very beginning by getting under control the dread disease, typhus.

The second and probably the more important part of our present program of public health reform waited the discovery of Pasteur. As soon as the significance of bacteria in causing disease had been demonstrated by the famous French scientist, and the application of this relationship had been made by Pasteur, Lister, Koch and others, the foundation was laid for our modern health program.

**Health situation at present.**—Taking the world's population as a whole at the present time we find a large part of it in poor health. In the tropics and subtropics it is estimated that 60 to 75 per cent of the population suffer from one or

<sup>1</sup> Hammond, Lord Shaftesbury, p. 156, Constable & Co.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

both of the diseases, hookworm and malaria. In an unfavorable climate, particularly, the health of the natives is on a low level and their condition, coupled with climatic circumstances, brings down their productive ability.

In the temperate zones the work of science in furthering good health has been somewhat retarded by the conditions of factory work, the unwholesomeness of life in the crowded parts of our cities, and the contaminations which come from a congested population.

At the time of the Boer War England found that a large part of its male population was physically unfit for military duty. Although we have the best fed population in the world, only 448,859 of the 1,300,000 volunteers examined for the army and navy in 1917 were physically fit for service: 66 per cent were rejected.<sup>3</sup> During the draft of 1917 and 1918 about 3,208,000 men were examined, of whom 521,606 or 16¼ per cent were utterly unfit to perform any kind of military service. We are told that even such a select group of men as college students were found to have one in every four physically disqualified for military duty. A special investigation of the children in New York City showed 190,898 out of 247,735 suffering from some defect.

Although such statements illustrate the great need of advancing the public health work now being done, there are already results that prevent any discouragement. For example, in Massachusetts from 1885-88 the annual death rate averaged 19.5 per 1000 population: for 1920 the rate was 13.9 per 1000. In 1885 the death rate for pulmonary tuberculosis in this state was 307 per 100,000 as against 96 in 1921: in the same period of time the typhoid death rate fell from 39 to 2.5, the death rate for diphtheria dropped from 78 to 15, and the scarlet fever death rate went down from 30.2 to 5.5. In 1885 the average expectancy of life for a new born baby

<sup>3</sup> Binder, *Eugenic Aspects of Health, Publications, American Sociological Society*, Vol. 16, p. 168.

in Massachusetts was 42.75 years: in 1920 it was 55.1 years,<sup>4</sup> certainly an encouraging gain.

**Economic and social costs of disease.**—If we put aside the suffering and sorrow tied up with preventable ill health and disease and consider merely the economic and social consequences, we have motive enough for an aggressive public health program. We have no accurate knowledge of the exact economic costs of preventable ill health and disease; but from careful estimation of the cost of certain types of disease we can get a sense of the appalling total cost. The Bureau of Labor bulletin estimates the yearly money loss in the United States from the premature deaths and preceding illnesses of wage earners as \$213,540,000.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Haven Emerson estimates the economic cost of consumption alone in 1922 as \$850,000,000.<sup>6</sup> Moore states that in his opinion the cost of preventable disease in this country amounts yearly to not less than one and a half billion dollars.<sup>7</sup> Professor Devine tells us that an investigation of those asking for aid of the New York Charity Organization showed that in three-fourths of the cases ill health was either the first cause of the family difficulties or at any rate a very serious contributing cause.<sup>8</sup>

Ill health has much to do with crime and vice, and thus a large part of its actual cost is charged to other social problems. It hampers thousands in their educational career so that they are inadequately prepared for life. It creates low vitality which leads to family poverty, which in turn produces in children poor health and all sorts of secondary social misfortunes. Thus the ill health of one generation becomes a menacing influence that shows not only in the physical, mental and social disabilities of the next generation, but also in the

<sup>4</sup> Kelley, Conservation of Health, *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1923, p. 402.

<sup>5</sup> U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin, Whole No. 101, pp. 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> Emerson, Prevention of Tuberculosis, *American Review of Tuberculosis*, Aug., 1922, p. 457.

<sup>7</sup> Moore, Public Health in the United States, p. 67.

<sup>8</sup> Devine, Misery and Its Causes, p. 54.

social and economic retardation of the able members of society that must carry the burden. In considering the economic and social consequences of preventable disease we must not overlook the small army of attendants, nurses and physicians required to care for those disabilities, whether mental or physical, that can properly be charged to preventable ill health. The financial cost of institutions, hospitals and asylums means just so much less available of public funds for more constructive social service.

**Health conservation and sanitation.**—The value of preventive medicine and sanitary engineering appeared clearly in the World War. From previous history it was well understood that in war disease was more deadly than the enemy's bullets. In our own Civil and Spanish Wars the troops suffered more from sickness and starvation than from the attacks of the enemy. In the World War, however, science had advanced to such a point as to furnish preventive medicine and sanitation that could protect even vast armies from disease. Each nation put into force a rigorous program of health protection. The results were most impressive. In spite of the fact that never before had there been such favorable conditions for the spreading of contagion, only one major epidemic spread through the barriers erected by modern sanitation. This one disease that spread over the world was influenza, which thus far has baffled the medical profession in their attempt to put it under control. As it swept far and near it became more deadly than the war itself. Small-pox, typhoid fever, malaria and other communicable diseases were effectively held in check. The success of this health program in war time gave stimulus to the undertaking of a similar health program in times of peace.

**Tuberculosis.**—In cost to society tuberculosis outranks all other diseases. It afflicts the adult in the period when he is most economically productive, and is the most common cause of death in middle life. It also is a lingering disease

that carries with it great economic waste and much family suffering. It is gratifying, therefore, that during the last quarter of a century there has been such a decided decrease in the death rate of tuberculosis. The progress in dealing with this disease in the United States has been summarized as follows by one of our foremost statisticians:

"In 1900 (and that, by the way, was the first year for reliable statistics on tuberculosis for any large part of the United States), the death rate was 195.2 per hundred thousand of population. In 1910, the rate in the same geographical area, namely, the Original Registration States and the District of Columbia, had dropped to 164.7, or 15.6 per cent, in the ten-year period. In 1920, the rate in the same states was 112.0. This is 42.6 per cent less than the figure for 1900. In the second decade, that is, from 1910 to 1920, the rate fell 32 per cent, or a little better than twice as fast as in the first decade. In 1921, the rate went down to the low figure of 94.2 per 100,000, which is less than one-half the figure for 1900, only twenty-one years before."<sup>9</sup>

These figures demonstrate that a hundred thousand fewer persons are dying every year in our country from tuberculosis than would be dying if we had the same death rate today that prevailed twenty-five years ago.

Speaking in 1922, Dr. Haven Emerson stated that in New York City the loss from tuberculosis was 89 per hundred thousand of population, while fifty years ago the rate was 408. During the preceding twelve years the death rate from this dread disease in New York City had been reduced 51 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

When we ask the reason for the steady dropping of the death rate of tuberculosis we find ourselves at once in controversy. There are two schools of thought. One stresses the

<sup>9</sup> Dublin, Decline in Tuberculosis, *National Tuberculosis Association*, June, 20, 1923.

<sup>10</sup> Emerson, Mental Hygiene in Public Health Movement, *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1922, p. 226.



effect of biological selection. This school points out that the decline in tuberculosis began before any campaign, as at present understood, was started against the disease. Those who emphasize the genetic basis admit that people are universally infected with the disease, but declare that only those who are constitutionally predisposed to it break down. This position has been plainly stated by one of its advocates:

"Has or has not the selection due to many years of heavy phthisis mortality left us with a more immune and resistant population? If it has—and that I believe will be found to be the ultimate explanation of the fall, especially the *retarded* fall in the phthisis death rate—then infection is not the only factor worth investigating. There is the question of hereditary immunity. It may be a bitter pill for mankind to swallow, when we suggest that natural selection may have done more for racial health in this matter than medical science, but it may have its compensations from the economic standpoint. Above all, it may suggest that Evolution helps man better than he at present knows how to help himself, and that possibly he would learn to help himself better if he studied her processes of racial selection a little more closely."<sup>11</sup>

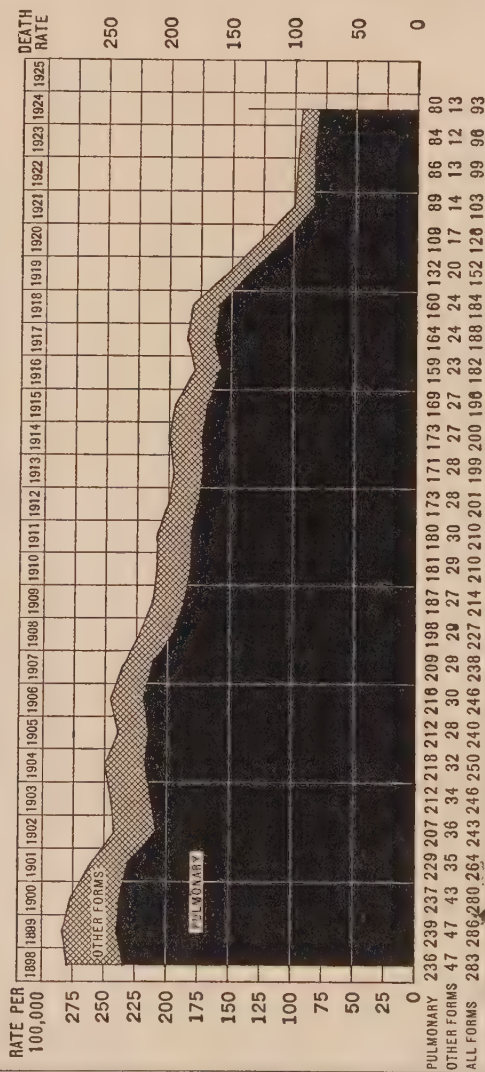
The other school stresses the environmental factors that enter into the control of tuberculosis. These students of the problem of tuberculosis look to personal hygiene, decrease of infection and the building up of resistance to the disease as methods of making progress.

One might not expect New York City to have made greater progress against tuberculosis than most parts of the United States. The fact is, however, that from 1910 to 1921 the death rate from tuberculosis in New York City has been more than halved. Chart VII, page 232, shows the progress this city has been making against tuberculosis since 1898.

<sup>11</sup> Pearson, *The Fight Against Tuberculosis and the Death Rate from Phthisis*, pp. 34–35, quoted from Dublin, L. I., *Causes for Recent Decline in Tuberculosis and the Outlook for the Future*, *Metropolitan Life Ins. Co.*, 1923.

CHART VII<sup>12</sup>

# DEATH RATE FROM TUBERCULOSIS IN NEW YORK CITY PER EACH 100,000 INHABITANTS SINCE 1898



<sup>12</sup> Compiled from reports, Bureau of Records, New York City Department of Health.  
By Godias J. Drolet, Research Service, New York Tuberculosis Association.

In spite of its congestion, its poverty, its great foreign groups, and its large colored population, particularly susceptible to tuberculosis when living under the conditions of city life, New York has been making steady progress in its control of this disease. No single agency or measure can, of course, be credited with the results accomplished. The New York Tuberculosis Association states that the pasteurization of milk in force since 1915 has been one of the reasons for this decrease. The New York Tuberculosis Committee gives the following causes the responsibility for the decline of the tuberculosis death rate:

"First, the general rise in the standard of living and the improvement in working conditions; second, the sanitary improvement of the city; third, the effects of the tenement house law; fourth, the large proportion in the population of the Jewish race with its well known immunity to the diseases peculiar to congested life; fifth, the restriction of immigration; sixth, prohibition."<sup>13</sup>

**Infant mortality.**—The rate of infant mortality is one of the best tests we have of community efficiency. By infant mortality is meant the death of children under one year. It does not include still births, premature births or miscarriages. In the Birth Registration Area of the United States there was a death rate in 1920 of 86 out of every thousand children; two years later this rate had dropped to 76 per thousand, but even this means about one child in thirteen. The records of the State Registrar in Massachusetts show an increase in the death rate of infants from about 1857 to about 1910, when it again touched 120 for the first time in fifty years; since 1910 it has been steadily sliding downward, except for a slight spurt up at the time of the influenza epidemic in 1917; it rested at 76 in 1921.

Although there is a general trend toward reduction of

<sup>13</sup> Tuberculosis in New York, *Survey*, Sept. 15, 1922, p. 718.

infant mortality we find that little progress has been made in the last twenty years in bringing down the death rate of infants under one month. When we examine the causes of deaths of children under one year we find ourselves dealing with problems that are largely social. This table gives the causes of 44,226 deaths of infants in the four largest cities of the United States:

TABLE 15 <sup>14</sup>

	Per Cent
Acute gastro-intestinal disease.....	28.0
Prematurity, congenital debility and marasmus.....	25.5
Acute respiratory diseases.....	18.5
Acute infectious diseases.....	5.4
Tuberculosis (all forms).....	2.0
Syphilis.....	1.2
Malformations, injuries at birth, and other conditions of the new-born.....	5.8
Convulsions.....	3.4
All others.....	10.2

Behind this medical classification of the deaths are the more fundamental social causes, such as improper feeding, unclean milk, housing conditions, employment of mothers in industry, alcoholism, syphilis and particularly lack of prenatal care, and inadequate obstetrical care. From various investigations it has been proven that there is an inverse relation between the wages of the heads of households and the rate of infant mortality; but it is not true that the infant death rate is in proportion to poverty in such an exact way as to make it possible for us to estimate the death rate by merely discovering the conditions of poverty when we compare nations or classes. It is impossible to untangle the relationship of sickness and poverty so as to know which is cause and which is effect. A report by the Children's Bureau shows

<sup>14</sup> Holt, Infant Mortality, *Journal American Medical Ass'n.*, Feb. 26, 1910.

the relationship between infant mortality and the fathers' wages in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

TABLE 16 <sup>15</sup>

ANNUAL EARNINGS OF FATHER	INFANT MORTALITY PER 1,000 BIRTHS
Under \$521.....	255.7
\$521 to \$624.....	157.6
\$625 to \$779.....	107.1
\$780 to \$899.....	142.9
\$900 to \$1,199.....	101.4
\$1,200 or more.....	83.3

Another study of an industrial community, Gary, Indiana, emphasizes similar findings: "When the chief breadwinners' earnings were under \$1050 a year, the infant mortality rate was 137.8; when chief breadwinners' earnings reached or exceeded \$1850 per annum, the infant mortality rate fell to 89.4; among babies to native white mothers when earnings were in the highest group, the mortality rate sank to 60." <sup>16</sup>

The lowest infant mortality rate in the world at the present time is found in New Zealand, and therefore that country has special interest for the social student.

"In 1919 the infant mortality rate for the whole of New Zealand, exclusive of the native, or Maori, population, was 45.3 per 1000 live births. Comparison with other countries for the latest available years up to 1919, as given in Table I, shows that New Zealand had a lower infant mortality rate than any other country in the world. The rate in the United States in 1919 was 86.6, or nearly twice as high." <sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Duke, Results of Field Study in Johnstown, Pa., p. 46, *Infant Mortality Series No. 3, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.*

<sup>16</sup> Hughes, Infant Mortality, p. 83, *Bureau Publication No. 112, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.*

<sup>17</sup> Woodbury, Infant Mortality and Preventive Work in New Zealand, p. 1, *Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Bureau Publication No. 105.*

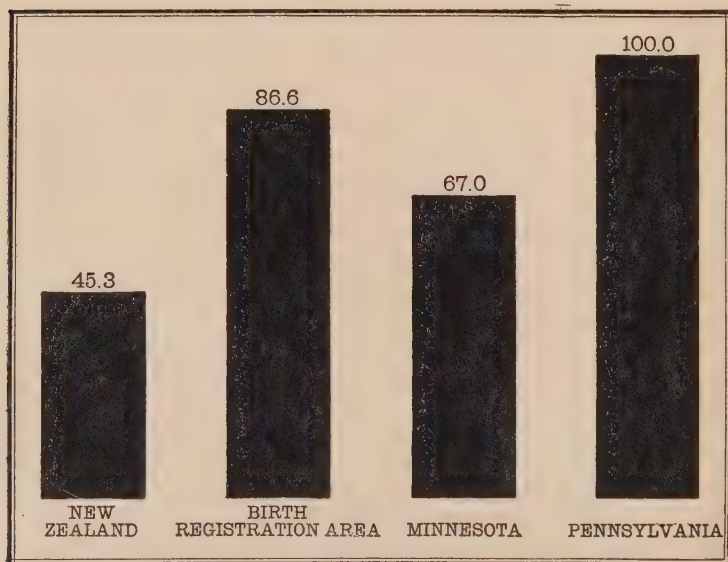


TABLE 17 <sup>18</sup>  
 INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR CERTAIN FOREIGN  
 COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES, 1919 \*

Country and Year	Infant Mortality Rate	Country and Year	Infant Mortality Rate
Chile (1919).....	306	Denmark (1919).....	92
Hungary (1915)...	264	England and Wales (1919).....	89
Japan (1918).....	189	Ireland (1919).....	88
Spain (1918).....	183	United States (birth- registration area)(1919)	87
Germany (1919)...	145	Netherlands (1919)....	84
Quebec (1919)....	143	Switzerland (1919).....	82
Italy (1917).....	139	Sweden (1916).....	70
Finland (1919)....	135	Australia (1919).....	69
France (1919).....	119	Norway (1917).....	64
Scotland (1919)....	102	New Zealand (1919)....	45
Uruguay (1919)....	101		
Ontario (1919)....	96		

\* Sources: Statistical yearbooks or other official publications of the different countries. Figures are given for 1919, or for latest available year.

CHART VIII <sup>19</sup>



<sup>18</sup> Woodbury, loc. cit., p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

TABLE 18 <sup>20</sup>

COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY RATES, BY CAUSE OF DEATH, NEW ZEALAND AND THE UNITED STATES BIRTH-REGISTRATION AREA, MINNESOTA, AND PENNSYLVANIA, 1919

Cause of Death	Infant Mortality Rates, 1919			
	New Zealand	U. S. Birth-Registration Area	Minnesota	Pennsylvania
All causes.....	45.3	86.6	67.0	100.0
Gastric and intestinal diseases.....	3.1	17.1	8.3	24.7
Respiratory diseases.....	3.8	12.8	8.8	17.8
Malformations.....	4.6	6.3	6.2	7.9
Early infancy.....	25.2	30.8	28.1	30.7
Epidemic diseases.....	1.6	9.6	7.5	9.7
Ill-defined.....	....	2.7	1.5	1.0
All other.....	6.9	7.3	6.5	8.3

TABLE 19 <sup>21</sup>

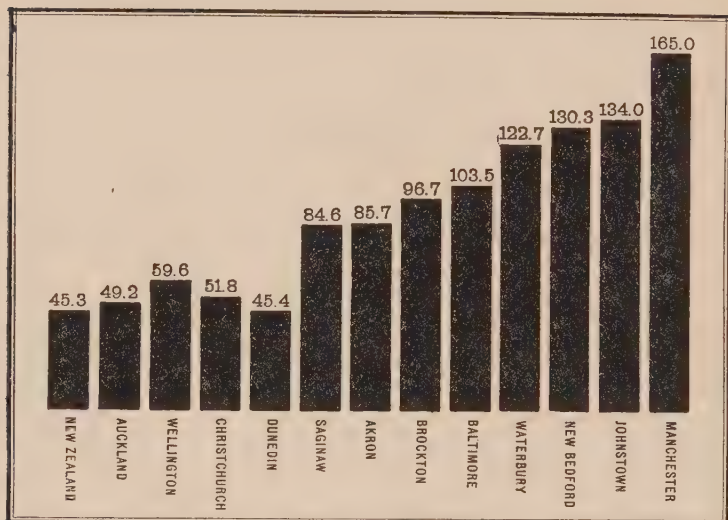
COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY RATES, NEW ZEALAND AND EIGHT AMERICAN CITIES STUDIED BY THE U. S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Locality	Infant Mortality Rate *	Locality	Infant Mortality Rate *
New Zealand.....	45.3	Manchester.....	165.0
Auckland.....	49.2	New Bedford.....	130.3
Wellington.....	59.6	Brockton.....	96.7
Christchurch.....	51.8	Saginaw.....	84.6
Dunedin.....	45.4	Waterbury.....	122.7
		Akron.....	85.7
8 American cities...	111.2	Baltimore.....	103.5
Johnstown.....	134.0		

\* The dates for New Zealand are for 1919; for the American cities studied by the bureau the rates are for births in a single year within the period Nov. 1, 1912-June 30, 1914, except Johnstown, 1911, and Baltimore, 1915.

<sup>20</sup> Woodbury, loc. cit., p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

CHART IX <sup>12</sup>TABLE 20 <sup>23</sup>

DECLINE IN INFANT MORTALITY RATES, BY PERIODS; NEW ZEALAND  
1872-1919

Period	Average Annual Infant Mortality Rate	Amount of Decrease	Per Cent Decrease	Period	Average Annual Infant Mortality Rate	Amount of Decrease	Per Cent Decrease
1872-1874..	105.9	.....	.....	1895-1899..	82.7	2.9	3.4
1875-1879..	101.5	4.4	4.2	1900-1904..	76.3	6.4	7.7
1880-1884..	91.4	10.1	10.0	1905-1909..	69.6	6.7	8.8
1885-1889..	86.3	5.1	5.6	1910-1914..	57.0	12.6	18.1
1890-1894..	85.6	.7	.8	1915-1919..	48.6	8.4	14.7

It is interesting to try to trace the causes of this low mortality rate of infants. Up to about 1905 the Dominion profited from a general educational and public health work, extending over more than a quarter of a century, which led

<sup>22</sup> Woodbury, loc. cit., p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

to steady improvement in public sanitation and a corresponding decrease in epidemic diseases and tuberculosis. Without doubt the infant mortality decline was in part the result of these improved health conditions. Beginning in 1905 there is evidence of new causes bringing about a marked decline in infant mortality. These causes have been summarized as follows:

First: The establishment of state maternity hospitals for the training of maternity nurses. Compulsory training of midwives and the voluntary registration of nurses tended also toward better maternity and nursing service. The work of St. Helen's Hospital was directed particularly toward getting better confinement care for the wives of working men.

Second: Another important influence which has tended toward the reduction of infant mortality has been the infant life protection service that has been carried on. This has been especially concerned with infants who have boarded out away from their mothers. This group is largely made up of babies of illegitimate birth, a group which we know usually has a high death rate. Infants' Homes have greatly improved as a result of having trained officials, and this has effected a decided decrease of deaths among children in such institutions.

Third: The most important infant welfare work in New Zealand, we are told, has been done by the Royal New Zealand Society, which is concerned with the health of women and children. Since 1907 this society has gradually spread its work until now it reaches directly over one-fourth of all the babies born in the Dominion. By newspaper health articles, pamphlets, and other educational propaganda it has done much to build up wholesome conditions for babies in New Zealand families. It has especially emphasized the value of breast feeding, and has so far succeeded in gaining the co-operation of the mothers that a woman in New Zealand is almost ashamed to have to admit that her baby is artificially

fed. How important natural feeding is in preventing deaths of babies appears in the Gary study.

"During the first 9 months of life the mortality among the artificially-fed infants averaged 5 times that among the exclusively breast-fed and about 3 times that among the partly breast-fed infants. The mortality from gastric and intestinal diseases among the artificially-fed infants was relatively much greater, on an average 8 times as high as among breast-fed infants. The mortality from other causes, including respiratory and 'other communicable' diseases, was also higher among the artificially-fed infants, and averaged about 4 times as high as among the babies exclusively breast fed.

"The mortality among babies of foreign-born mothers was greater than among babies of native white mothers among both the exclusively breast-fed and the exclusively artificially-fed infants.

"Native mothers fed their babies artificially earlier and more extensively than mothers of foreign birth. Supervised feeding of babies was about twice as frequent among infants of native mothers—a fact which accounts in part for the greater safety which attended the use of artificial feeding by these mothers. Examples of unwise feeding of infants were far too common, and served to illustrate the need of educating mothers in acceptable and safe methods of feeding their babies and caring for articles of food." <sup>24</sup>

**Death of mothers.**—There is no more difficult problem for any family than that which comes at the death of the mother of little children. One of the discouraging conditions in our present health situation is the high death rate of women due to childbirth. In the Provisional Birthrate Registration Area of the United States for 1910 there was a death rate for women due to childbirth of 6.5 per thousand of live births. Each year from 14,000 to 17,000 women in this country die, cut down as a result of their bringing a child

<sup>24</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 112, p. 82.*



into the world. It is interesting to compare our rate with that of some other countries. Sweden, Italy and Norway have a little less than three deaths for each thousand children born alive; England and Japan, a little over four; France, Scotland, Austria, slightly more than five; Switzerland, Spain and Belgium, not quite six. We are told that if the data for the Registration Area of the United States are representative, we have the highest maternity death rate of the world.<sup>25</sup>

Professor Hollingworth believes that the actual facts are worse than the statistics reveal.<sup>26</sup> Although facts about infant mortality are constantly given publicity, she affirms that the statistics of maternal mortality have been neglected and suppressed.

It is the opinion of some authors that the bad showing of the United States is due mostly to our low grade obstetrical work, including lack of prenatal care. We have a large proportion of births in the United States attended by midwives. According to the 1920 census there are about 5000 midwives in the United States and it has been estimated that 30 per cent of all confinement cases are cared for by them. There is only one training school for midwives under public control in this country. An investigation conducted by J. Whitridge Williams among teachers of obstetrics in our medical schools appears to show that general practitioners lose at least as many patients from infection at childbirth as do midwives.<sup>27</sup>

Professor East tells us that there is need of establishments to give proper hygienic instruction during pregnancy and a traveling nursing service. Hospital treatment is necessary for difficult cases and advantageous for all cases. It is particularly hard in our rural districts to furnish the prospective

<sup>25</sup> East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, pp. 241-42.

<sup>26</sup> Hollingworth, *Impelling Women to Bear and Rear Children*, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1916, p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> Williams, J. W., *Midwife Problem and Medical Education in the United States*, Report, Second Annual Meeting, Am'n Ass'n Study and Prevention Infant Mortality, 1911, pp. 165-94.

mother the expert attention she needs. Even the two months' rest from her household work, which is advised, is especially difficult to give the farmer's wife.<sup>28</sup>

We are told that the physician today finds obstetrics the most poorly paid of all branches of medicine. As a result the most efficient and best trained doctors are tempted to a more lucrative type of medical service. Even the nurse finds confinement cases less profitable than general nursing, in addition to being more wearing because of the greater responsibility involved in the double burden of caring for two patients, and the efficient nurse also is tempted out of obstetrical nursing. What happens, then, is that a few of our wealthy women have proper care before, during, and after childbirth because they can afford to pay well: a few of the very poor have proper care because they can pay nothing: and the host of women of moderate means, on whom the country depends, are neglected because they can pay only a little.

**The death rate of the middle-aged.**—The decline in the general death rate and the corresponding increase in human longevity have become world phenomena, but it is not commonly understood that the decline in the American death rate has been chiefly at ages under thirty-five. Tuberculosis is still responsible for a large proportion of the deaths of middle age. Kidney and heart diseases cause many of the deaths at this period. We must remember that people of forty or over grew up in the pre-sanitary period, and to some extent their breakdown in middle age is due to diseases of childhood. It is likewise true that the public health movement has had thus far most success with the diseases that are particularly common in childhood. As the movement proceeds it is possible that the death rate of middle age will show a proportional decrease. England and Wales, for example, already have arrived at a point where the present death rate at all ages is less than formerly.

<sup>28</sup> East, loc. cit., p. 243.

**Rural health.**—One familiar with rural conditions is likely to overestimate the advantages of country life in matters of health. Although the environment in most respects is more conducive to wholesome living in the country than in the city, modern science has had greater success in dealing with the urban population, and the country is relatively backward in sanitation and hygiene.

The same percentage of physically unfit drafted men were found to come from rural and urban homes, at the time of the World War, but medical officers in army camps noticed that country recruits were much less resistant than city men to contagious diseases. The same thing is shown in school records. Country school children in the United States are decidedly behind town and city school children in health, as evidenced by the report of a joint committee of the American Public Health Association and of the American Medical Association. A comparison of the children in a town high school and the pupils in a rural school in Louisiana in 1919 gave striking figures:  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the former gave evidence of malnutrition, 52 per cent of the latter; 20 per cent of the town children and 51 per cent of the country children were anaemic. The rural population has more malaria, hookworm, adenoids, infected tonsils and defective teeth. The rural death rate is indeed generally less than the urban, but during recent decades mortality has declined more slowly in the country than in urban districts. From such diseases as typhoid the country often suffers more than the city: Indiana's typhoid death rate in cities is 27.5, in the country 31.5; Tennessee's figures are 29.1 for its cities and 40.1 for its country districts. Tuberculosis is almost as common in the country as in the crowded city, even though fresh air is always to be had for the taking in the country. In Westchester county, New York, a survey placed the infant mortality for cities at 82, for villages at 80, and for the open country at 104. New Zealand found it necessary to subsidize

rural hospitals and doctors in her campaign against infant mortality. In England not long before the war a study was made of the school children in fourteen industrial centers, fifteen residential towns, and eleven rural areas. The country children made far the best record in regard to every kind of disease and defect.<sup>29</sup>

The carrying out of adequate provisions for sanitation in the country is greatly hindered by the lack of enough officials in charge of public health in proportion to the area involved, poor organization of the individual workers, often coupled with insufficient training and second-rate ability, lack of financial backing for the undertaking, and difficulty of spreading new ideas among a widely scattered population, conservative in its attitude toward the pronouncements of outsiders.

Modern sanitation has reversed the position of city and country in their spreading of communicable diseases; today the country harbors disease risks that are quickly stamped out in the city. The facilities for handling an epidemic are not at hand in the country, as they are in the city. Ventilation, sewage disposal, water supply, protection from flies and other pests, the elemental factors of present-day sanitation, are apt to be haphazard and consequently are often extremely faulty in the country home. The city receives infection from the country in its milk, its water supply and its food, as well as by personal contact with individuals from the country.

The work of the farmer is not so ideally healthful as the city dweller is inclined to picture it. Prolonged hours of labor that is often excessively hard, and must in many cases be performed in very cold or very hot weather, amidst unwholesome clouds of dust, or in penetrating dampness—these circumstances do not always “harden” a man; they sometimes weaken him and predispose him to disease.

Since nearly half our population is rural, it is clear that

<sup>29</sup> Vincent, *Better Health for Rural Communities*, Proceedings, Second National Country Life Conference, pp. 15-16.

this situation can not long remain unchanged. At best the country dweller is farther from hospital and specialist than his city brother. Improved supervision of conditions interwoven with the public health problems of the country will benefit not only the great body of country folk, but must raise the health level of the city, since the country and the city are so closely dependent on each other in matters of health.

**Accidents and sickness in industry.**—It is estimated that industrial accidents kill 30,000 wage earners every year in the United States, and seriously injure at least 500,000 more.<sup>30</sup> The American Red Cross reckoned that of every 10,000 Americans employed during 1918, seven were killed, and the fatalities in industry in that one year were 45 per cent of the number of Americans killed in battle in the World War; during 1919 about 3,400,000 disabilities due to industrial accidents were suffered by workmen.<sup>31</sup> Frederick L. Hoffman calculated that during 1913 at least 700,000 workers were laid up for over a month with injuries received at work:<sup>32</sup> the American Red Cross gives a similar figure for 1919. The records of deaths and injuries are tabulated so differently in the various states that it is almost impossible to make exact statistical statements in regard to the general situation in this country. An artificial increase in the accident rate is caused by the neurotic inability of some workers to recover from their injuries until they have received compensation for their accident.

The insurance against industrial accidents which has followed the passage of Employers' Liability Acts has done much to improve the safety of workers. The insurance rates vary according to the condition of the factories where employees are engaged, and thus there has been an economic

<sup>30</sup> Rosenau, *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene*, p. 1283.

<sup>31</sup> American Red Cross News Release, June 5, 1921.

<sup>32</sup> *Bulletin* 157, p. 6, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*.



stimulus in the modern movement for greater safety. It would be unfair not to recognize that the humanitarian tendency among those responsible for industrial management has also played its part. The "Safety First" drive of the railroads has probably attracted most attention because it affected the general public as well as the men employed. The Interstate Commerce Commission for 1921 reports on the situation.

"Because of the 'Safety First' movement promoted on the railways the number of persons killed in proportion to the number employed by the railroads and the amount of traffic handled was the smallest on record. To begin with, as compared with 1920, there was a reduction of 48% in the number of employees on duty killed in train or train-service accidents. There was a reduction of 10½% in the number of passengers killed. Lastly, the fatalities to 'non-trespassers,' i.e., employees, passengers, and other persons having a right to be on railroad property, were reduced 28%. Although in 1921 the railroads handled over 30% more passengers and about 50% more freight than they did in 1907, the number of employees and passengers killed was 66% less."

In trying to cut down accidents and reduce disease in industry, employers have to teach and urge workers to avoid risks, for the workman's own indifference, carelessness and ignorance bring about many avoidable accidents and preventable diseases. An investigation of more than four hundred fatalities to workmen assigns the blame for the accident causing death to the workman himself oftener than to the employer.<sup>33</sup> The incidence of lead poisoning was found to be more than six times as common among the casual workers as among those regularly employed in white lead works, nearly fifteen hundred persons being considered in this study.<sup>34</sup> Unskilled labor runs grave risk when it temporarily enters a

<sup>33</sup> Rosenau, *op. cit.*, p. 1280.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1299.

hazardous occupation. Workers who have to do with various forms of lead have to coöperate with their employers in combating poisoning, for the prevention of dust and the removal of fumes need to be carried out by the management, while the men must do their part by wearing protective gloves, observing scrupulous cleanliness in the workroom, wearing special clothes while at work, and washing the hands carefully before eating; chewing tobacco while working with the dangerous forms of lead obviously raises the hazard; over-indulgence in alcohol increases susceptibility to lead poisoning.

Modern methods of production expose workers to conditions that promote fatigue and strain and lead to diseases that are not directly connected with the occupation. On the other side employers are sometimes blamed for the illnesses of new workers whose physical vigor was low at their entrance into industry; the workmen are often birds of passage, representing both sexes, all ages, many countries, but all alike in that their health reflects not only their native endowment and the conditions under which they work but also their home conditions and the character of their recreation. Some industries that are not especially dangerous are made so by intemperance or dissipation. At the same time there is a relation between low wages and poor housing, lack of proper food and clothing, unwise recreation, greater incentive to alcoholism, and the pushing into industry of an unusual proportion of the very young, the very old, women and semi-invalid men.

The Federal act of 1918 taxing industries that employ children under fourteen, and mines and quarries hiring children under sixteen, affected the employment of children in agriculture, housework, street trades, stores, messenger and delivery companies, tenement homework, and in restaurants and hotels, only when the children produced articles to be shipped in interstate commerce. Great Britain, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland forbid nightwork

for young people under eighteen: few American states do as well, and the Federal taxation law places the limit at sixteen years. American laws give less protection to children from the unhealthful processes in industry than do all the European countries. In many of our states boys and girls of fourteen may be employed in work exposing them to lead, mercury, arsenic, benzene, carbon disulphid, carbon monoxid, etc., although such work is well known to be especially dangerous for immature persons.

In 1906 all the countries of Europe except Norway, Denmark, Roumania and Servia signed the "Berne International Convention" forbidding night work in industry for women, yet few of our states have taken this action and only a small number exclude women from the dangerous lead trades, although the greater susceptibility of women to this poison, the severity of the form it takes in them and its disastrous effect on their offspring are well known.<sup>35</sup> Because of the special importance to the community of the health of mothers it is well for their working hours to be limited and practically imperative that they have a rest of several weeks both before and after childbirth. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that women have the cooking and cleaning, besides the mending, washing and ironing to do for their families before and after factory hours.

Some of our states forbid women's working with emery and polishing powders because of the tendency of such work to favor the coming of tuberculosis: such action attracts criticism because it seems like an attempt to exclude women from certain lines of industry in order to protect men from their competition. Men as well as women suffer from inhaling dust while working, inorganic dust being usually more irritating and dangerous than organic dust.

In a study of various dusty occupations, Sommerfeld finds

<sup>35</sup> Oliver, *Dangerous Trades*, p. 296.

that the following proportion of persons per thousand die of pulmonary tuberculosis:

TABLE 21 <sup>36</sup>

Occupation without dust production.....	2.39
“ with dust production.....	5.42
“ “ porcelain dust.....	14.0
“ “ iron dust.....	5.55
“ “ lead dust.....	7.79
“ “ stone dust.....	34.9
“ “ stone workers.....	4.3
“ “ wood and paper dust.....	5.96
“ “ tobacco dust.....	8.47

Some factories have effective dust-removing systems; good ventilation is a great help. In certain kinds of work the only effective protection seems to be the wearing of respiratory masks, but many workmen prefer taking chances to wearing uncomfortable headgear.

The ventilation, lighting and comfortable surroundings of workmen have been seen to have a direct effect on the output of work as well as upon the health of the worker. It pays to have the employees rest at regular intervals. Efficiency drops as fatigue rises. Over-fatigue and nervous tension are very wearing: the monotony, noise and unremitting speeding-up of modern production lay a great strain on the humans who spend their lives engaged in specialized factory processes.

**The socializing of medicine.**—One of the difficult problems in the modern health movement is summed up in the term “the socialization of medicine.” We have at present a great deal of controversy about this and without doubt will soon have more. It does not necessarily follow that socialized medicine will mean state medicine, although many advocates of the socialization of medicine have taken for their goal a state system of public medical service. While the

<sup>36</sup> Oliver, Sir T., *Diseases of Occupation*, quoted, p. 247. See also Hoffman, F. L., *Bulletins* 79, 82, and 231, *U. S. Bureau of Labor*.

socialization of medicine is by some considered as simple a problem as that of public instruction through our schools, it has inherent in it some serious difficulties that it is not safe to ignore.

We already have some experiments in community and industrial coöperative medical service, in which physicians are hired by the group to give most of their time to curative medicine, but naturally tend to stress preventive measures. If it be true, as has been said, that the rank and file of private practitioners are not greatly interested in a program of preventive medicine, either in private practice or in public health work, it is certainly unfair to charge such indifference to the medical leaders. The medical profession must in fairness be credited with a service for the poor which largely fulfills what promoters of state medicine desire. It must further be recognized that the average doctor does his utmost to prevent epidemics, although his public service may cut into his private income.

The socializing tendency is pronounced in most aspects of social life, and public health work will more and more encroach upon the area that has been chiefly reserved for curative medicine. In this direction the movement of socializing medicine will naturally proceed. If it were to go so rapidly as some desire it might turn one of our professions of highest standards into something largely political.

Good health has so much to do with happiness, with morals, with general well-being that advancing social thought will be less and less willing to accept a situation which makes conditions of health so much a matter of economics. It is for the doctor to lead in a movement which nothing can prevent. The average doctor is likely to underestimate the knowledge the public already has with reference to the development of modern medicine and its power to decrease disease.

With this attempt to make curative medicine freely available for all, not only for the rich and poor but for the middle



class, there will naturally go a better understanding of what is meant by health. At present doctors are largely given to the curing of disease and the relief of ill health. When they are also engaged, as they certainly will be in the future, in counseling well people that they may keep well, or in showing people who are half well how they can be more fully well, doctors will have new opportunities that will more than make up for any loss that will come from the work of the public health officials.

There will always be need of physicians, although some seem to think that with proper hygiene, curative medicine will have nothing to do. Men and women, though they may postpone the time of death, must still die; the body will break down even though it does not break down so soon. Modern life has its risk of accidents. Moreover, even if we had a most effective and compulsory public health service there are countless personal habits that can never be made anything but a matter of self-discipline, and under the most favorable circumstances there will be a multitude of persons who will not regard the counsel of either the health official or the physician, and who as a result will suffer from diseases that can be classed as preventable.

**Exploitation of ignorance.**—Recently a young woman who appeared of meager economic circumstances asked a drug store clerk for some medicine that would cure heart trouble. To a question of the clerk she replied that it was for her husband. Without any further information the clerk sold the woman some sort of patent medicine which she carried home for the dosing of her husband. Such an episode gives one a vivid understanding of the exploitation of ignorance that has gone on for so long.

One of the good results of the modern health movement is the fact that the druggists fully recognize that patent medicine are decreasing in sale. Many of them have been harmful, perhaps the greater number merely useless, hurting

the patient only by keeping him away from the doctor in the early stages of some curable disease; some may have benefited, at least psychically, a few of those who took them.

Newspapers still carry testimonials to patent medicines, although there are some that refuse them absolutely. Nearly all papers are more careful with reference to such advertisements than they were a generation ago. It is said that the religious press accepts most uncritically advertisements of patent medicines.

It is estimated that we are still paying about \$195,000,000 a year in this country for patent and proprietary medicines. The campaign against the menace of nostrums and quackeries owes much to the editors of the *Ladies Home Journal* and *Collier's Weekly* at a time when it was a costly thing to enter upon, so far as advertising was concerned, and when the public did not appreciate as they now do the significance of the papers' effort. The daily press, especially the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Tribune*, also helped to change the habits of the people. One of our largest mail order houses, which sold patent medicine prior to 1912, announced in their catalogue for that year that they had decided henceforth to restrict their drugs and medicines to those officially approved by the leading drug and medical associations.

**Health education.**—The progress that we are making toward better conditions of health is primarily an educational matter. As a result of various attempts to inform and impress the public we are rapidly gaining a clearer idea of what health means. Health no longer is merely absence of acute disease. The American people are beginning to gather a conception of health that carries with it the notion of personal vitality and a positive enjoyment of living, due to a body functioning normally and reacting upon the individual in a way to give him mental and physical satisfactions.

Education still has much to do: the individual must be taught to recognize the laws of hygiene; his desire must be

captivated that he may be willing to follow the knowledge that he gains; he must be led to accept greater self-control with reference to all his physical appetites. He must also be induced to assume a more altruistic concern for the health of others. Public opinion is increasingly bringing about an attitude of mind that takes regard for the welfare of others, as evidenced during our influenza epidemic.

The community must be educated. It must first of all have a proper understanding of the work of its public health service. It is prone to ask of the public health officer that he cater to its superstitions with reference to fumigation and such matters, and to its aesthetic taste by being responsible for the removal of rubbish and other disfigurements, work that belongs to the Department of the Public Works and has little to do directly with health. The health officer should be free to give his entire thought to more consequential matters.

The public must be taught that only by coöperation can there be a high level of individual health. Prevention of epidemics is largely a social undertaking. One can not be expected to protect oneself, but must work with others to provide an organization that will have charge of such protection.

The community needs to learn the possibilities of health. It still takes for granted that it has to have communicable diseases that are no longer necessary. Most communities are less careful than they will soon be of water and milk, flies, especially in public markets, and the health conditions of schools. The communities are still largely thinking according to the information of thirty years ago. The more recent knowledge of our rapidly growing sciences of hygiene and sanitation is being put to use only in our most progressive cities.

There must also be a clearer understanding on the part of communities of the social advantage of health. Even in

terms of money the present program is unprofitable. Much of the vice and crime and socially costly epidemics and nervous breakdowns are due to an inadequate community program of health.

**The social side of the problem.**—Science has had the largest place in the improved health conditions. The work of science has been along many lines. Not only have great plagues such as Asiatic cholera, hookworm, smallpox, and diphtheria come largely under control, but science has indirectly contributed to health outside of lines that are distinctly medical or health-conserving in character.

We owe to science the knowledge of the relation of insects to disease, and it is this knowledge that has permitted us to get control of malaria, yellow fever, and bubonic plague. Science also has given us new knowledge about the significance of diet and the character of wholesome diet. It has extended our food resources and provided the means for the preservation and distribution of food, thus making it easier for the great mass of people to maintain a diet which makes for health.

Science has given us improved standards of living. Our homes and public buildings are better ventilated, heated and lighted than was formerly common; the same improvements are found in our factories. Modern science has given us the opportunity to reduce the hours of labor, which has been no small thing in lengthening the life period. Modern science has removed many of the hazards of industry and is constantly at work trying to make employment more wholesome and more safe.

Modern science has been organized to deal directly with problems of health in a way that was not conceived of a generation ago, and federal, state and community resources are now enlisted in the promotion of health. In addition, we have vast, privately endowed organizations that are doing much for human welfare.

**The school program and health.**—The most valuable contribution of the school to public health will come neither from its teaching of health information nor from its medical inspection, but from its own practices. The school must itself adopt a biological attitude toward its program and provide the child during his school career with the best possible conditions for physical development. Everything in the work of the school must be made secondary to the physical welfare of the child during the years of body growth or, no matter how efficient the school may be in teaching health or discovering evidences of disease, the actual contribution of the school to the health of the next generation will be far less than it needs to be.

The school, if it is to advance public health in marked degree, must turn to the biologist and the physician for guidance in forming a school program that will give the body needs of the growing child precedence over any mental or academic demand, college entrance requirements included. The school's present confinement of children indoors for so much of the day, its habitual repression of free activity, its waste of nervous energy by its proneness to create unnatural strain and worry in the effort to obtain artificial and uniform results, its emphasis upon mental achievement with little attention to the nervous costs, its supervision of an ever-increasing portion of the child's life, with the necessary exaggeration of fatigue, constitute problems that it must solve with a determination to make the child's school life chiefly a foundation for adult physical and mental health, whatever limitations such a policy imposes upon its academic task; if it can not do this the school must admit that so far as it is concerned health is secondary and incidental.

The educator can not have a free hand in forming the school program. The question is not what can be done to the child, but what should be done in the light of his body equipment. Such a question is essentially one for the biologist



and the physician to answer. The teacher, the school administrator, even the psychologist, has no basis as a result of professional experience for the exclusive control of the school policy respecting children who by the edict of nature are primarily engaged in growing bodies and who can subordinate physical welfare to meet other demands only at considerable risk.

It is most unfortunate that we can not have a clear testing of the results of present school education upon adult physical and mental health. The influences that make adult conditions are too many and too complicated to permit a clear, causal checking up of school and later life, but experiment and study will give the specialist an increasing basis of judgment regarding the effects of school life upon the maturing child. What society needs from the expert is not a recognition of school failures in individual cases, but assistance in shaping wholesome school practices.

School administrators also must consider seriously the effect of the teaching program upon the health, both physical and mental, of the teacher. It is mere lip-worship of health to give health instruction while providing conditions of work that gradually undermine a teacher's vitality. When school red-tape, reports and paper-work encroach constantly upon a teacher's reasonable amount of leisure trivial requirements overshadow real values. Teaching is a hazardous occupation from a nervous viewpoint and if children are to have a fair opportunity to develop mind and body in school hours, the necessity of conserving the nervous energy of the teacher must be recognized in the concrete activities of the school.

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL HYGIENE

**The meaning of social hygiene.**—Social hygiene has taken over the task of conserving family wholesomeness with special attention to the social problem of sex. It represents an organized attempt of science to further human welfare by the building up of a rational sex life. On account of the disease and unhappiness that result from a misdirection of the sex instinct, social hygiene is intimately connected with public health and every other program for social advancement. Its program is by no means merely negative; in the same way that the public health movement denotes more than simply keeping people from being ill, social hygiene is not narrowed to the effort to prevent prostitution, venereal disease, or any type of maladjusted sex life. Its point of view is primarily positive; its goal is the wholesome standards of life that give a basis for the best type of home as well as the highest development of the individual. Thus, social hygiene is the application of science to problems of social adjustment that gather about sex interests, and the movement is most closely related to public education.

Society has recently withdrawn much of the taboo which has made it so difficult for science to make headway against problems of sex. The very fact that the conspiracy of silence has come to an end has tended in our time to exaggerate sex, especially in the minds of the adolescent; and a greater need has been created for the wisest sort of social education which can help the individual pass safely through the adolescent

period of storm and stress into an adult life of rational sex conduct. Since the emotions run strong during adolescence and are naturally bound up with the developing interest in the other sex, social hygiene has to make provision for the psychological elements involved in sex education.

**The value of discussion.**—Although social hygiene is much more than an attack on venereal disease, the decrease of syphilis and gonorrhea reveal the advantage of the changing social policy which is being advocated by the whole social hygiene movement. Ten years ago the various health authorities of the federal, state and municipal governments were attempting to prevent the communicable diseases, and were making progress in the decrease of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, smallpox, diphtheria, and other similar diseases. The success of this work was largely due to the efforts that were made to educate the public with reference to the origin and control of communicable diseases. Very little was being done in any practical way to check the spread of syphilis and gonorrhea or to decrease their consequences. The trouble was that public opinion was not open to discussion with reference to the venereal diseases, as it was in the case of the other communicable diseases. Now the situation has greatly changed everywhere. The United States Public Health Service in various ways has influenced programs of venereal disease control that have been put on by federal and state health agencies and private organizations. For example, over five hundred venereal disease clinics have been established, and it is estimated that some six hundred people have been treated.<sup>1</sup> The quack treatment of persons suffering from venereal diseases has largely decreased. Reputable newspapers no longer accept quack advertising. The druggists have also coöperated in the effort to prevent the exploiting of ignorance by those who wish to market useless or harmful

<sup>1</sup> Cumming, Social Hygiene and Public Health, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Feb., 1924, p. 67.

nostrums. The United States Government has established the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, which directs the federal attack upon venereal disease.

A decade ago it would have been considered unpardonable bad taste, even in a serious discussion of social problems, to mention by name either syphilis or gonorrhea in a mixed audience. Today this is no longer true in the case of selected gatherings, although the general public still holds largely to the old taboo, especially in our rural sections. The advance that has already followed the change of policy demonstrates the need of constructive sex education. It is particularly important that educators, doctors, ministers and above all newspaper men, who are to have much to do with the forming of public opinion in the next generation, be given the preparation that will fit them to sympathize with a positive social hygiene program. Parents today, notably the younger parents, show increasing appreciation of the sex education policy. They find it difficult to take full advantage of their opportunity in dealing with their own children, in part because of awkwardness and sensitiveness and the feeling that they lack the skill to handle the subject well. This hesitancy is in large measure due to the unfortunate associations that the words sex and sexual still have for many of the adults of the present generation; these terms must be robbed of their bad suggestions for parents and used as naturally as they now are in scientific discussion. Frankness is an essential element in wholesome sex education, and the value of the terms sex and sexual, because of their precision and naturalness, rules out any acceptance of circumlocutions in the giving of sex information. The ability of parents to make use of the simple and precise vocabulary of science will reveal the actual progress made by parents in the giving of sex education to their children.

Although sex education has to be frank and direct, information does not need to be given in detail, especially by

parents in answering the natural questions of young children, but should be clear, brief and to the point. It is most important that no question of a child's be ignored, nor its answer postponed. The parent must therefore prepare for the answering of searching questions, before there is any possibility of their being asked; and since the child's first questions on matters connected with sex are likely to come in his third or fourth year, the parent must be ready betimes in his acceptance of the principles that are to govern his conversations with his child in regard to sex. Happy is that child whose parents feel no embarrassment in meeting the child's curiosity. If the parent shows self-consciousness, the child is apt to become tongue-tied and keep his future questions to himself or seek information elsewhere, concluding that there is something shameful about the topic *per se*. In talking with older children, strength and virtue must be emphasized rather than the dangers of vice and disease.

**Lack of knowledge of sex.**—Although human sex problems rest on a biological basis, they are essentially social in their form of expression. One of the paramount needs at present is a greater knowledge of the human sex life. The progress already made in social hygiene shows the value of scientific direction and makes clear the need of a more adequate scientific basis for this work. Much of the information that we have regarding the sex life of animals is comparatively valueless as a guide to the solving of the more complicated social problems of human experience. Our present culture rests upon our success in socializing the sex instinct, and it is therefore natural that our problems should be so largely psychic and social rather than physical. One of the promising movements is the work of the National Research Council's committee on research in the realm of human sex problems. In October, 1921, at a conference of representative specialists and physicians, the following resolution was adopted, which well illustrates the growing demand that science furnish the educator



with a substantial basis for the program of sex instruction:

"The impulses and activities associated with sex behavior and reproduction are fundamentally important for the welfare of the individual, the family, the community, and the race. Nevertheless, the reports of personal experience are lacking and the relatively few data of observation have not been collected in serviceable form. Under circumstances where we should have knowledge and intelligence, we are ignorant. To a large degree our ignorance is due to the enshrouding of sex relations in a fog of mystery, reticence, and shame. Attitudes toward the subject have been fixed by moral teaching, medical instruction, and social propaganda, all based on only a slight foundation of well-established fact. In the presence of this secrecy and prejudice, scientific investigation would be difficult. The committee is convinced, however, that with the use of methods employed in physiology, psychology, anthropology, and related sciences, problems of sex behavior can be subjected to scientific examination. In order to eliminate any suggestion that such inquiry is undertaken for purposes of propaganda, it should be sponsored by a body of investigators whose disinterested devotion to science is well recognized. For these various reasons the committee recommends that the National Research Council be advised to organize and foster an investigation into the problems of sex."<sup>2</sup>

**The size of the venereal problem.**—The chief venereal diseases are syphilis and gonorrhea. Syphilis is a specific infection caused by the *Spirochaeta pallida*. The disease is caught by direct contact with infected persons, by inoculation as a result of contact with infested things, and by congenital transmission. No disease is more dreaded or with better reason. It is, however, preventable and even curable. Medical skill is primarily blocked in its attack upon the disease by the unwillingness of the general public to deal with it

<sup>2</sup> Zinn, E. F., History, Purpose, and Policy of the National Research Council's Committee for Research on Sex Problems, *Mental Hygiene*, Jan., 1924, pp. 95-96.

as with other communicable diseases. It has been a characteristic product of civilization, but in our time as a result of European contact is more prevalent among the uncivilized than the civilized. Syphilis seems to have slightly lost its earliest virulence, but if it does not at present lead as it once did to immediate death, it is the cause of secondary afflictions which in due time bring about death; thus syphilis is one of our most serious causes of insanity.

According to conventional traditions, syphilis was introduced into Europe by the crew of Columbus and was unknown among the whites before 1493. We know that in the autumn of 1494 the disease became epidemic in Europe and spread through the country rapidly and with great intensity. Recently this tradition with reference to the origin of syphilis has been called in question,<sup>3</sup> and there is a growing belief that the disease has come down from a more remote antiquity.

Syphilis, when its indirect as well as its direct effects are considered, is probably responsible for more deaths than any other disease. In the state of New York in 1922 out of a population of over two millions, there were reported to the Department of Health 23,246 cases of syphilis as compared with 23,415 cases of tuberculosis. In 1920 in the Registration Area of Continental United States, containing 82 per cent of the population, the greatest single cause of death during the year, excluding pneumonia and influenza, at that time epidemic, was syphilis. The Bureau of the Census estimated that it was responsible for 12 per cent of the deaths; organic heart trouble came next, with 10.9 per cent, followed by tuberculosis, with 8.7 per cent.<sup>4</sup> It has been estimated that the annual cost of insanity due entirely to syphilis is about \$500,000,000.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Tolman, The Origin of Syphilis, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Dec., 1923, pp. 546-51.

<sup>4</sup> Cumming, Social Hygiene and Public Health, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Feb., 1924, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Moore, Public Health, p. 95.

It is impossible to speak with confidence regarding the amount of venereal infection. One American authority states that 60 per cent of men acquire venereal infection at some time in their life, fifty per cent of them before the age of twenty-five. One author declares that 75 per cent of adult males acquire gonorrhea at some time, and from 5 to 10 per cent, syphilis. It is estimated that 10 per cent of the men registered under the draft for the American army were actively infected. Of 2000 cases recorded in the private wards of Johns Hopkins Hospital, Dr. Hooker found that 49.9 per cent of the male patients gave a past history of gonorrhea, and 10.9 per cent a past history of syphilis; these were patients in the general medical and surgical divisions, not in the genito-urinary department.<sup>6</sup> Conservative and widely accepted estimates with reference to the amount of syphilis in European countries before medical treatment was common have been that 10 per cent of the urban population was or had been infected by one or the other of the diseases.<sup>7</sup>

Gonorrhea, although not a direct cause of death, contributes largely to sterility and racial deterioration. In the past it has also been responsible for much permanent blindness, due to infection of the eyes of the infant by the mother or nurse. It is held responsible for 50 per cent of sterility, 60 per cent of the surgical operations on the female generative organs, with the exception of those for tumor, 10 per cent of all blindness, and many chronic diseases of the joints and bladder. Once thought to be a comparatively harmless disease, its seriousness has been disclosed as it has been more scientifically understood. From the point of view of its effect on racial welfare, gonorrhea is one of the most harmful of our diseases.

**The progress of the scientific attack.**—It is most important that it be generally understood that since 1907 science

<sup>6</sup> Hooker, *Laws of Sex*, p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Rolfe, *Social Hygiene. Journal of Social Hygiene*, Jan., 1925, p. 15.

has been making great headway in its attack upon syphilis. The Wassermann test, which permits the diagnosis of syphilitic infection, was discovered in that year, and has now been standardized and improved by more skillful technique. In addition to the Wassermann blood test, examination is now made of the spinal fluid, in attempting to ascertain the presence or absence of syphilis; this often reveals that syphilis has begun to involve the nervous system, at a time when its detection would be impossible by ordinary diagnosis. Improvement in the dark-field microscope enables the examiner to discover the living spirochete at a period of infection which formerly could not be certainly diagnosed. All of this is important because it permits early treatment of the disease, upon which its cure so largely depends. Salvarsan, a synthetic compound of arsenic, which is used for the treatment of syphilis, is now more efficacious than formerly because of its more skillful use. The medical profession has put increased emphasis upon the necessity of diagnosing the syphilitic because of ailments which are the secondary expression of syphilis.

Progress also has been made in the diagnosis of gonorrhea, and particularly in its treatment. The most important element in the advance against gonorrhea is the growing recognition, first among physicians and of late increasingly among the general public, of the serious nature of the disease. As a result of this, people who previously would have ignored this disease are willing to receive treatment.

**The social evil.**—The social hygiene movement is making progress in the decrease of prostitution, as well as in the lessening of venereal disease. Indeed, every investigation demonstrates that the two are closely related. A high percentage of prostitutes are infected with one or the other of the venereal diseases, and they have always been the chief factor in the spreading of syphilis and gonorrhea. Nothing measures the achievement of social hygiene more than the

change of thought with reference to prostitution. For a long time held to be a necessary evil, even a protector of the monogamous family, prostitution has been revealed by recent science as a great social burden, the elimination of which is inevitable if we are to maintain rational sex life and wholesome social conditions.

Ignorance is the basic cause of prostitution. This means that the fundamental cause for entering prostitution is lack of appreciation of its inescapable consequences. Economic pressure, bad social surroundings, even intense sex passion, do not lead to prostitution the woman who has a clear understanding of its dangers and the certain deterioration it entails.

The men who patronize prostitutes also act for the most part through lack of understanding. Many of them have little knowledge of the venereal risk they run, or of the seriousness of venereal disease; particularly is this true with reference to gonorrhea. Others have never squarely faced the tragedies that are represented by the women whom they patronize; selfish and careless of the human rights of others as they are, few of them if they were brought face to face with the actual situation would be willing to purchase their pleasures at the cost of such degradation as the prostitute usually suffers. Some of the men who patronize prostitutes are victims of abnormal sex habits which they developed in early youth or even boyhood as a result of lack of wholesome sex instruction. A considerable proportion of the men who support prostitution hold the unfounded notion that sex activity is necessary if they are to preserve their health.

In dealing with prostitution it must be ever kept in mind that it represents a commercializing of vice and that the large profits that individuals make by exploiting human weakness have been the chief cause of its perpetuation. Although venereal disease is so connected with prostitution as to be subject to little control unless headway is made against prosti-



tution, promiscuous sex relations that are not commercialized also present a problem since to some extent they, too, scatter venereal disease. There can be no doubt that the social hygiene program is making inroads upon the institution of commercialized sex vice. As must be expected, this success is bringing some difficulties that hinder our transition from the code of the double standard to a single standard of rational control of sex. It is exceedingly difficult to compare different periods in their support of vice, since vice by its very nature is largely concealed. It is likely, however, that in this period of transition we shall have, because of our higher standards, an increase in unstable marriages on the part of those whose habits are not equal to the present social standards, and even among some of our youth a greater laxity, as a consequence of freer discussion of sex and the blocking of the outlet once afforded men through prostitution.

**The American program.**—The American program, as it is internationally known, represents an attack on venereal diseases and prostitution and irrational sex life from four fronts: law enforcement, medical measures, recreation and education; these have been found highly successful in our army and navy and are being aggressively maintained by federal and state legislation and public health administration. The enforcement of law attempts to limit and repress the activities of prostitutes by the passing of laws that have been demonstrated by experience as efficient. The medical measures include the reporting and treatment of cases of syphilis and gonorrhea, the cure of the patients if possible, in any case the taking of steps to make them non-infectious. The recreational side of the program emphasizes the positive measure of finding substitutes for what in the old days were tempting avenues to the patronizing of prostitution. It is clearly recognized that the social hygiene program can not be merely composed of prohibitions. Behind the attraction of the prostitute there have always been impulses for comradeship and relaxation

that can be more satisfactorily furnished by recreational opportunities of a constructive character. The fundamental measure, upon which all the other movements rest, is the educational. Public opinion has to be informed. Youth needs training; moral forces need enlightenment; at every point a humane and efficacious attack on prostitution and venereal disease must be primarily educational in character. It is the acceptance of this fact that has made the social hygiene movement so undoubtedly successful and socially beneficial. Any drive against prostitution has an unsound educational basis and suffers from its directors' lack of insight if it forgets that the prostitute is human and in most cases is, herself, a victim of unwholesome social circumstances.

The working out of the American plan hinges on the effectiveness of education. This represents more than the giving of wholesome sex education to the young; the program demands wholesome general education, for the sex element is not a detached portion of the individual's life, which can be handled by itself. The significance of the American program has been well pointed out by Dr. Saleeby when he states that it is primarily discipline. It is doubtful whether any other plan for the handling even of the venereal problem can win much success. Sexual vice in all its varied expressions is chiefly the result of the unsocialized sex life of a multitude of persons, and the only effective way of dealing with the situation is the uncompromising effort to socialize sex: this means discipline. Thus, vice, like every other social problem, is an expression of unsocialized and irrational adjustment.

**The treatment of the offender.**—Social experience has proven the superiority of prevention over the more costly procedure of waiting until damage is done and then trying to rectify it; this holds true for every form of social evil. The program of prevention is particularly important in the case of youth. In the past the policy of punishing the offender has given little attention to the possible salvation of wayward

boys and girls. The treatment of the sex offender must rest upon a preventive attitude toward the problem of vice and a sincere effort to reclaim those who are unfortunate. Although the business of prostitution must be attacked with an unceasing persistency on the basis of legislation and enforcement of law, the prostitutes must receive just as intelligent and humane treatment as other types of youthful offenders. Most prostitutes need medical treatment and assistance in restoration to normal health. A considerable number must also be given help in equipping themselves to earn a living, since often the only way they know of making money is through prostitution. The utter futility of fining or imprisoning them and giving them no preparation for self-support when they are freed has long been recognized by students of the problem.

There must be great difference in the treatment of first offenders and those who are hardened and thoroughly habituated in their menacing way of life. Experience seems to show that the best possible treatment of the prostitute is some sort of school farm which stresses industrial training. Those prostitutes who are feeble-minded or of pathological mentality should, after thorough examination, be committed to the appropriate institutions. Such individuals should be treated as mental defectives or persons of unsound mind, and not as criminals. Those who profit from their farm colony experience to such an extent as to prophesy a normal career in the outside life should be given an opportunity under parole for their social testing. If they are unable to keep from their old life they should be returned to the institution and kept indefinitely. The policy should, however, not be one of punishing offenders, but protecting society from a type of offender whose social risk is greater even than that of the ordinary criminal.

**Sex education.**—The basic fact to be recognized by anyone who has the welfare of children at heart is that every

child is bound to receive some sort of sex teaching. If this were not true, those engaged in child training might desire to postpone definite instruction about sex until early adolescence. But children are naturally interested along lines of sex, particularly since adults by their attitude of taboo toward it give sex the attraction of the mysterious. It follows that a child who is to have a fair chance to develop the right kind of personality must be given assistance in the forming of good sex ideas, in the same way that he receives help along other lines to prepare him for good living. Sex education can never be merely the giving of knowledge. What the child requires is not information alone, but the development of right attitudes and good habits.

The parent has a strategic position in the influencing of the child, and no program of sex instruction can be completely successful that does not stress the educating of parents to enable them to give children the right start in the very impressible years when the child's curiosity is first evinced. Most parents either do not see the need of helping the child by giving truthful explanations of the origin of life, keeping his confidence and avoiding any sense of shame in speaking of sex, or, recognizing their responsibility, feel unfitted to do what is needed. This failure of parents is to be expected in the light of their own early training. The situation is a challenge to the social hygiene movement, for however efficient later instruction may be, children are handicapped unless their parents give them a fair chance at the beginning. If parents are to do their part, they must themselves be helped. It is for this reason that so much is made of the teaching of parents. It is particularly important that parents get the idea of prevention, and that they deal with the child's normal sex interest candidly and with emphasis upon positive social virtues. Any attempt to construct good sex life upon a policy of mere prudence is bound to fail. It is not necessary that parents, to fulfill their

responsibility, become expert in their knowledge of sex matters. The little that the child requires, fortunately, any parent of intelligence is prepared to give. Parents' teaching should not be a formal and self-conscious exercise, but an expression of comradeship, which handles sex curiosity when it arises in the very same way that other interests of the child are satisfied. Thus the child escapes any sense of morbidity, thereby avoiding a source of poisonous influences that sap sex morality at its root. The child has not one question to ask, but many, and at different times. What the parent needs to furnish is perfect frankness, devoid of any self-consciousness or any element of concealment. It is this attitude of the parent, more than the information he gives, which influences the child in his early development of sex curiosity.

Sex education obviously includes the development of right emotions with reference to sex matters; it aims to call forth in the individual the likes and dislikes that are characteristic of personalities that have socialized and rational sex attitudes. Good taste, aspiration, ideals, everything, in short, that makes for good emotional character stands high on this program.

**A program of sex education.**—If sex education starts with the teaching of parents, it naturally goes on through the school, with substantial additions at every point of advancement in the child's school career. The earliest school instruction gathers about nature study and biology; it has to do with the life histories of plants and animals; it attempts to give the child not only a correct knowledge of reproduction, but also a kindly sympathy toward living things and an appreciation of the moral meaning of biological facts. As the child develops, literature furnishes a splendid opportunity for a constructive socializing of the sex impulses. The idealism that romance expresses, which so grips young life, also offers a chance for wholesome sex direction. Although the abnormal and immoral along lines of sex should be kept far in the background, the high school period permits stress on



sex ethics. The educational program must issue in moral teaching, but it must be a morality that has grown out of the preceding instruction; it must avoid asceticism and negation and win the approval of the young by its appeal to fairness and social honor. The task of the school is complicated by the menacing influences the child receives, especially in the adolescent period, from suggestive movies, immoral books and insinuating newspaper accounts of scandals. Under present circumstances, the constructive efforts of the school are hampered and frequently defeated by malicious influences that come to the child as a result of such commercial exploitation of the sex interests of youth as the movies, the newspaper and the salacious novel.

**The teacher.**—The school frequently encounters a difficult practical problem in the finding of teachers that can give the more advanced form of sex instruction. In the elementary schools, particularly in nature study, the problem generally takes care of itself. In the high school it is different. The task of the school authorities is to discover those persons who are most fitted to give the required instruction. It is of course imperative that, when it comes to the study of the human reproductive system, boys be taught by men and girls in separate classes by women; this by no means forbids coeducational courses in biology up to the discussion of human reproduction. Nowhere does the teacher's personality count more than in sex instruction. While it is not necessary that such a teacher be married, he or she must speak on this subject without self-consciousness and without any morbid interest, and experience demonstrates that the married man or woman is most likely to be free from these two handicaps. If no teacher can hope to give a profitable course in sex hygiene who is embarrassed by the subject itself, it is equally clear that anyone with morbid sex interest or psychopathic tendencies in regard to sex can not be a successful instructor. Although a teacher of courses involving sex must have a

reliable grasp of the subject and a familiarity with all the more important facts of sex hygiene, it does not follow, nor is it to be desired, that he or she should have a profound understanding of human sex problems, and it is especially unwise for the instructor to be steeped in the knowledge of sex pathology.

**The social significance of sex.**—Social hygiene is based upon a clear understanding of the social significance of sex. Sex in human society does much more than perpetuate the race; its influence upon human personality is manifold, for in every element of life its impress is felt. The sex interest has not been weakened by human evolution: everything tends to show that it is stronger with us than with the more primitive savage; it has, however, been used as a source of energy which has been expressed in lines of behavior far removed from the original sex interest. The sex problem can never be merely that of physical sex; it is primarily a social problem, for society at every point is hampered or advanced by vicious or rational sex behavior. It is this social significance of sex which makes the social hygiene problem so important. Any misdirection of the individual's sex instinct has social consequences outside the realm of sex. For the individual the wholesomeness of the entire personality, and particularly of marriage and parenthood, is involved: for society, a high sense of justice and appreciation of the delicate values which we usually call spiritual, as well as general public health, is involved. The social hygiene movement, therefore, conserves both individual and social values; it is the application in one field of great social significance of an education that furthers social adjustment. Any education that avoids wholesome sex training weakens the educational structure at a vital point. The social hygiene movement is not content to do away with vice or even to maintain virtue; it strives to make sublimated sex the tremendous social asset that it must be if social life is to bring men and women the full fruits of intelligent social development.

## CHAPTER XI

### IMMIGRATION

**History of American immigration.**—Immigration is a sociological phenomenon illustrative of the motives that influence human beings. The original motive for immigration among primitives is hunger; and in a more developed form, including the desire for wealth, hunger still is basic. There has always been a tendency for man to go from poorer to better land, and to attempt to gain possession of sources of wealth. This has led to the migrations which have had so large a part in the development of prehistoric and historic society. In modern times nations have tried to check, direct, or encourage immigration.

In the eighteenth century, when the United States became an independent nation, its population was mostly homogeneous. Nearly all the people spoke English and all of them were accustomed to English institutions and habits. The majority, about three-fourths, were of English descent.

From the time of the Declaration of Independence to the middle of the nineteenth century, some three generations, the American people while busy settling the country were also developing characteristics that were known to the old world as distinctively American. During this period there was a continuation of immigration from England and Scotland, but the newcomers easily mixed with the native inhabitants and in no way retarded the developing American standards.

In the middle of the nineteenth century a new source of immigration began to be felt in America, especially in the

Northern Atlantic seaboard area. Following the potato famine of Ireland in the '40's, the Irish began to flock to this country. The first generation were day laborers for the most part, but in the second and third generation they contributed their proportion of leadership to business, law, agriculture, and particularly politics. The Irish immigration has been mainly from the peasant class.

As a result of the unsuccessful Revolution of 1848 we began to draw from Germany a large percentage of its progressive and educated citizens who had been driven from their country by the conservatism of a reactionary government. They went chiefly to the cities or farm areas of the middle west, helped win the Civil War, and aided greatly in the growth of educational and cultural institutions. Their ideals were not so different from those of the native American that there was much difficulty in their assimilation.

Swedes, Danes and Norwegians began coming to this country in the early part of the nineteenth century, but these people contributed no large part of our immigration until after the Civil War. Then they poured into our Middle West, particularly the Northwest, and helped the nation develop its enormous grain fields. They settled chiefly in country districts and tended to establish small groups that continued the foreign ways instead of becoming rapidly assimilated.

Up to 1870 we had drawn very few from the southern and eastern sections of Europe, but at that time we began to draw from the many races of Austria-Hungary. In another decade the Russians entered in large numbers, and soon their immigration was greater than that of the Germans, the Scandinavians and the British. About the same time the Italians came, and their numbers rapidly grew.

As a result of the coming of peoples from Southern and Central Europe, by 1889 the character of our immigration had entirely changed. These people who increasingly came into the country after 1870 differed greatly in their language,

standards, and traditions from those who had preceded them. They found it more difficult to understand American ways and were not so easily assimilated. They tended to drift into our cities and form their own colonies, which were neither European nor American.

This change in the character of our immigration attracted more and more attention from the students of government, economics and sociology. It was recognized that our problem of assimilation was growing difficult. The following table shows the rapid change in the character of our immigration:

TABLE 22<sup>1</sup>

SHOWING THE SHIFT IN THE SOURCE OF IMMIGRATION  
TO THE UNITED STATES

(In terms of percentages of total from various sources)

Country	Year	Per Cent	Year	Per Cent	Year	Per Cent
Great Britain.....	1882	22.8	1907	8.8	1914	6.0
Germany.....	1882	31.7	1907	2.9	1914	3.0
Scandinavia.....	1882	13.3	1907	3.9	1914	2.0
Total Western European Countries.....	1882	71.3	1907	17.7	1914	....
Italy.....	1882	4.1	1907	22.2	1914	26.5
Austro-Hungary.....	1882	3.7	1907	26.3	1914	25.6
Russian Empire .....	1882	2.7	1907	20.1	1914	23.0
Total Southeast and East- ern Europe.....	1882	18.2	1907	75.5	1914	75.6

**The American tradition with reference to immigration.—**

In the background, influencing the American attitude toward immigration, were our great quantity of free land, largely undeveloped, our democratic theories of government, and our sympathetic feeling toward ambition and the craving for politi-

<sup>1</sup> Young, Intelligence Tests of Immigrant Groups, *Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1922, p. 418.



cal freedom. We felt ourselves a refuge for the oppressed and those who desired to improve their economic conditions; and we were rather proud of our ability to attract, and equally confident of our power to assimilate.

This popular attitude was by no means universally held. Washington doubted the wisdom of encouraging immigration except that of skilled mechanics; Jefferson wished that an ocean of fire between this country and Europe might make it impossible for more immigrants to come here. The Hartford Convention, in 1812, proclaimed that "the stock population of these states is amply sufficient to render this nation in due time sufficiently great and powerful." For the most part, however, the American attitude was one of welcome to the newcomers. The public lands were vast and needed settlement, labor was scarce, living conditions were easy. The number coming was, in the early years, not so great as to make any disturbing influence upon the political or economic life of the native people. It was not strange, therefore, that our traditional policy of receiving immigration freely was built up and became so embedded in our national habits of thought as to make it difficult for us to think of adopting any policy of restriction.

**The new immigration.**—Not until 1898 was there much immigration from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, but since that time the number of immigrants from these countries has been very great. It has been customary to speak of this immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe as "the new immigration" in contrast with the earlier immigration which came almost exclusively from Northwestern Europe. Before 1883 Southern and Eastern Europe sent in about 5 per cent of the total number coming to this country. At the time of the outbreak of the World War we were receiving 75 per cent of our total immigration from such countries as Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Russia, Poland and Syria, while the number coming from Great Britain, Ireland, France,

Germany, and the Scandinavian countries had dropped from 95 per cent to about 15 per cent of our entire immigration.

This change meant more than a change in the nationality of the immigrants. Whereas the first immigration was Celtic and Teutonic, the new peoples were largely Latin and Slavic. The cultural difference between the newcomers and the native Americans was far greater than it had been before the new immigration got under way, and therefore there was now a much more serious problem of assimilation. In language, religion and ideals of government, the earlier immigrants were closer to American culture and they more quickly and easily entered into our national life.

The new immigrants had come from countries that had fallen behind in the modern movement of representative government and had little understanding of the meaning of American democracy. These immigrants were quickly swallowed up in industry and, being for the most part unskilled workers, they took over most of the manual labor, building our railroads, working our mines and to a large extent manning our factories. The newcomers brought with them familiarity with a lower standard of living than the native unskilled workers.

Many of the newcomers, either single or with wives in the old country, adopted a group type of home life in place of the family unit. Under this system a married immigrant or his wife or even a single man acted as head of the household, which was made up of a coöperative group of from two to sixteen boarders, who shared equally the costs of the house-keeping. This made it possible for the living expenses of each adult member to be reduced to the lowest point, and in this way the immigrant was able to accept lower wages than a native American and at the same time save a considerable part of his earnings.

Such families had little incentive to adopt American home habits, and so they remained an alien body within the com-

munity in spite of their enormous industrial contribution. Not only did many of them have a meager knowledge of English, but at the time they came to the country they also had a high degree of illiteracy. Usually lacking capital, they were forced to work upon whatever terms they could get. Although individuals quickly responded to the new educational and industrial opportunities they found in this country, most of the older immigrants continued their European standards, many of them looking forward to a time when they would return to the old country.

It is estimated that about one-third of these immigrants have returned. While they contributed greater economic wealth to this country than the money they took back with them represented, they nevertheless made it difficult for the native Americans to compete with them in certain lines of industry and their presence, because of their remaining foreign and apart, created all sorts of political and social difficulties.

The immigrant laborers were not concerned with the permanent advancement of the American working class. They flooded our great industries and blocked the efforts of our native working men, especially in unskilled labor, to obtain higher wages and better conditions. The great influx of the new immigration made exploitation in industry easier than otherwise it would have been, and as a result great wealth was soon concentrated in the hands of a few, and economic inequalities began to be a more perplexing problem for this country than otherwise they would have been.

The new immigration concentrated along the Atlantic seaboard, particularly in the cities. New York city has more Italians than any city in Italy. Fifteen of the largest cities of our country have more foreign immigrants and their children than native whites. This crowding of the immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe into our seaboard cities and manufacturing towns has been one of the causes of the

low level of political administration which has made such difficult problems for our municipal government.

The unskilled immigrant brought about a social change which Francis A. Walker, the American economist, has stressed. Since the most menial and unpleasant jobs were forced upon the newly arrived immigrant, public opinion formed the idea that there must be cheap labor to do disagreeable and degrading work. Unskilled labor lost much of its respect. As a result there grew up the false notion that manual labor was degrading. This has led a multitude of native Americans to seek unproductive occupations which, although poorly paid, have been free from the ill repute of dirty labor.

**Causes of immigration.**—We owe to the school histories of a former period the widespread belief that the settlers of Colonial America came from Europe to escape religious or political persecution. Of late history has also stated that a portion of the colonists were influenced by mere commercial motives, while others who were criminals or paupers were sent from their native country against their will that the native land might be rid of the burden of their support.

Particularly during the Revolutionary days of 1848, the influx of Europeans who had unsuccessfully struggled for a constitutional government in their home land led to the exaggeration of the political motive for immigration and a corresponding slighting of the economic motive. In more recent times we have had Russian Jews, Roumanians, Armenians and Finns who have come to us to obtain political or religious freedom, but for the most part recent immigration has been purely economic. Some of those who have been led to this country by political or religious interests have been extremists, and some of them have been far from being an asset to the country of their adoption.

The majority of peasants or workmen of Eastern and Southern Europe have a standard of life far below that of

the native American in shelter, clothing and food. They have to accept conditions that would seem intolerable to Americans of normal self-respect. It is naturally these very people that feel most strongly the motive for immigration. Prosperous, happy people have no reason for leaving their own country. Those who were forced by economic conditions to exist upon a low level of material resources have been stimulated by the commercial enterprise of steamship companies and other corporations who have profited from their migration. It is not strange, therefore, that they have come to America in great numbers since this population movement started in the 'eighties.

Letters or visits from immigrants who have prospered in this country lead friends and neighbors to decide upon immigration. Naturally enough the immigrant who writes home or returns there often exaggerates his economic success in America and the immigrant who comes to us encouraged by these tales is quickly disillusioned as he finds himself in sharp competition for his daily living. Those who fail in the struggle are loath to confess their lack of success, and thus it comes about that the immigrant who sails for America often has an utterly wrong idea of the actual conditions among us.

**The melting pot.**—If the native American has thought at all about the immigration problem he has usually conceived it in terms of the so-called "melting pot." He has prided himself on the power of America to take all sorts of people, flocking here from all parts of the world, and by putting them in a melting pot of tradition and environment to melt them all into types of a new homogeneous people, the best there ever has been in the history of man.

Recently, there has been a tendency to turn from this sentimental attitude to a square facing of the facts. Scrutinizing the effect of our previous immigration policy does not bring complacency. The melting pot has simply not melted to the extent that people have taken for granted.



Moreover, although environment must be recognized in any testing of peoples, the question of national welfare can never be a mere matter of environment. Biology with its teaching regarding the meaning of inheritance must also be considered. In so far as immigration represents the coming of people who have suffered long from adverse circumstances and who therefore have had their vitality sapped by the necessity of adapting themselves to hard conditions, the newcomers constitute an inferior breeding stock for any country.

The fallacy of the melting pot theory has been that we have supposed that people who have suffered from extreme economic pressure need only more favorable environmental conditions to merge sympathetically into the American population. In any case the successful working of the melting pot would demand that it be not over-loaded with foreign substance, and surely in the past too much has been expected of it. No country could possibly assimilate even the most promising material if it represented such a mixture of cultures, poured in as rapidly as they have been in the United States during the last few years. It is no longer possible to think in the melting pot terms.

It is of course arrogant to suppose that any class of immigrants are utterly without cultural values that could well be incorporated in American life. But as a matter of fact immigrant groups have so isolated themselves or have had such unfavorable contacts with the older Americans that any interchange of ideas and customs that did take place added little to American culture and frequently destroyed values that the foreigners had in their own country.

In estimating the progress of assimilation two different kinds of processes must be kept in mind: one is assimilation in outward behavior due to environmental influences; the other is assimilation of a more significant sort since it comes about from the intermarriage of the old and new groups. The new immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe has been

assimilated into American life so far as the first process is concerned to a far greater extent than by the second process; thus far there has been very little intermarriage.

Confident in the power of the melting pot, particularly as operated through the public schools, the American has taken it for granted that the adoption of mere social conventions indicated complete assimilation, forgetting the enormous importance of home life and clannish grouping. The real test of assimilation is the intermarriage of the new peoples incorporated in the national life with the earlier inhabitants of the land to which they have come. From this viewpoint the melting pot has been too over-loaded in recent years to function successfully. Doubtless, given time enough, if the number of incoming foreigners is kept low most of these people will be completely assimilated. Mere environmental assimilation, expressed in reading and writing English, wearing American clothes, eating American food and attending the American movies will not produce a homogeneous people.

**Americanization.**—Since the United States has permitted in the past such a vast influx of immigrants representing various kinds of cultural experience, it behooves us to take seriously the task of Americanization. We have no choice in the matter; however difficult it may be every effort must be made, for public and national safety, to produce as homogeneous a population as is possible. The teaching of the English language plays no small part in the process of assimilation. One of the real handicaps of the immigrant is his inability to speak our native tongue. This leads to the segregation of immigrant peoples in our towns and cities and makes contact of the immigrant with the native American and his institutions exceedingly difficult; it keeps the immigrant among the unskilled laborers, however well trained he may be. If the immigrant can not speak English he runs risk of all sorts of exploitation and is denied most of the comforts and pleasures of American residence. Serious home problems are

also created when the immigrant can not speak English and his children can.

The educational program leading to the assimilation of our foreign peoples can not stop at the mere teaching of English or even the more common branches of elementary education. There is also great need of interpreting American institutions, American history and American principles of government so as to give the immigrant the social background necessary for an understanding of American civilization. The Americanization program must also include an attack upon economic exploitation of the immigrant. Many of our recent laws with reference to the regulation of industry have been due to the inability of the immigrant to protect himself. Hours of labor, the condition of mines and factories, the putting in of safety appliances, the establishment of employment exchanges and the insistence upon decent housing are all necessary elements in a complete Americanization program.

A part of the task of assimilation must be worked out by community and personal service. The social settlement in its work for the immigrant gives us a splendid example of the sort of work needed in every community where there is a considerable number of foreigners. The work of the visiting nurse is another effective means of Americanization.

Americanization can not be merely impersonal or professional. There is the utmost need also of free contact between foreign and native people under such circumstances as to bring to foreigners a wholesome idea of American standards of living, of morality and political relationships. In their free contacts the immigrants are often hurt by the fact that they come to know first an American family life low in standards. The immigrant who reads English also gets a distorted idea of our life from the yellow press, which is likely to be his first English newspaper.

**Oriental immigration.**—Oriental immigration is the most difficult for America to assimilate. Not only do the orientals

have a lower standard of life but their culture is widely different from that of this country. In language, religion, traditions and customs they are further from America than the European immigrant is. It would be easy by encouraging an overflow migration from Japan and China to this country to create another race problem which from a social viewpoint would rival our present-day negro problem in its perplexities.

When gold was discovered in California in the early 'fifties the Chinese first began coming to this country. They engaged in various kinds of occupations; some turned to gardening and many went into laundry or domestic service. We find them today working in laundries, restaurants and retail trade east and west and in the western states in agriculture and in salmon canneries.

The number of Chinese coming to this country mounted rapidly until in 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed. From that time they have been decreasing in spite of the fact that some still enter illegally, especially by being smuggled across the Mexican border. With their decrease they have come to have a much less important place in industry and to some extent they have been replaced by Japanese.

According to the Census Report the number of Chinese in continental United States has been dropping as follows: in 1900 there were 89,863; in 1910 there were 71,531 and in 1920 there were 61,688. The Chinese population is almost exclusively male. It is estimated that not more than 4000 of the Chinese in this country are women.

Although the Chinese Exclusion policy, which was expressed in law in 1882, was the most stringent restriction of immigration the country had ever adopted, it was received by the Chinese people with less bitterness than might have been expected. Both the government and people of China felt that this country had the right to regulate its own immi-

gration and they appreciated the difficulties involved in the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States.

Until 1898 no considerable number of Japanese immigrated to the continental United States. In 1900, including Alaska, there were 24,326 Japanese in this country. After 1900 the number of Japanese entering the United States increased very rapidly and in 1920 there were 111,025 here, 70,196 living in California. After 1910, as a result of a "gentlemen's agreement" between our government and the Japanese government in the effort to diminish Japanese immigration, the number entering the country decreased for several years. Later, it has been stated, Japanese immigration to the United States began to increase again until about 10,000 Japanese a year were entering the country.<sup>2</sup>

The Japanese that have entered the United States have located mostly in the Pacific Coast states, especially in California, which has more than half the entire number; Washington, Oregon and Colorado have most of the rest.

The coming of women from Japan has made Japanese immigration, unlike the Chinese, a family migration. These Japanese women, who have been called "picture brides," have come from the home land to marry and establish homes in this country. This has given the Japanese immigration a more permanent basis than the Chinese and has led in part to the growth of the opposition to Japanese immigration.

About 1905 there began to be, in California and to some extent in the other western states, an increasing hostility to Japanese immigration. This developed agitation for the exclusion of Japanese and also for the separation of the Japanese students, many of whom are adults, from white children in the public schools. This protest against the coming of the Japanese immigrants developed into a certain amount of anti-Japanese sentiment.

<sup>2</sup> Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 238.



Since the Japanese government did not look with favor upon this emigration of its people to the United States it was not difficult for the United States government to enter into an arrangement with Japan, which led to a restriction of the emigration of the Japanese by control of passports. Beginning in 1920 the Japanese government prohibited the granting of passports of the "picture brides." Our immigration law of 1924 refuses admission to alien immigrants ineligible to citizenship. The effect of this law is to exclude the Japanese as the Chinese were previously excluded. Some of the Japanese entering to this country have gone first to Canada or to Mexico, but the Japanese government has made a treaty agreement with Canada to limit the number of Japanese going there, and more recently it has discouraged the immigration of unskilled laborers to Mexico.

Most of the Japanese coming to this country have been young men who at home were small farmers or agricultural laborers. For the most part they have entered unskilled occupations in this country, working on the railroads, farms, in canning factories, lumber mills and logging camps; some have gone into domestic service and retail business. The greatest number have gone into agriculture. In California they have leased land for truck gardening and have been highly successful. Their industry and frugality and low standards of living have made it possible for them to prosper on low wages and small profits. As a result they have been able to outbid not only the native whites but also the Chinese and Italians in their getting of land. They have required little capital, for the owner of the land has often provided the equipment necessary for his tenants or the shippers have advanced the money necessary to start the Japanese farmers in their growing of strawberries and asparagus and other vegetables.

It is claimed that when the Japanese have successfully gotten control of a labor market by accepting lower wages than any other laborers except the Mexican, they have at

times taken advantage of this situation and at a critical period in the care of a crop have struck for higher wages, which the owners of the farms have been obliged to grant them.

The Japanese have been quick to learn American habits of life. They very seriously attempt to learn English. Although in religion they are likely to be freethinkers or Buddhists, they are not hostile to Christianity and some of them become professing Christians. Their assimilation, however, is largely external due to the fact that thus far there has been little intermarriage between them and the Americans. Indeed, the hostility of the Americans on the Pacific coast to such intermarriage has become great. This situation forces the Japanese to remain an alien people, but their aggressiveness, intelligence and industrial skill are such that they can not permanently accept a servile position; if, therefore, they were to enter our country in considerable numbers their presence would not only create a new race problem but one most difficult of adjustment.

At the present time the Hindu is an unimportant element in our immigrant class. All the reasons for the migration of Japanese from their crowded country are equally true with reference to the Hindus. Most of the small number that have already entered our country went first to British Columbia and were later attracted by the warmer climate of the United States. Canada in various ways discouraged their coming to that country in large numbers. The United States has been able in the past to check their coming to this country by ruling that the unskilled Hindus are likely to become public charges. This has been justified on the ground that it is extremely difficult for them to find work. They have engaged in the most disagreeable of unskilled labor. They are said to have less stamina than the Japanese and to accept lower standards of living than either the Japanese or the Chinese. As a rule they are without family, live in groups as large as fifty and prepare their food in a simple manner, often

living outdoors and sleeping in blankets on the ground. They are willing to put up with any kind of a shack. They assimilate little of American standards of life and the hostility to this immigration among the Pacific states is even stronger than the opposition to the Chinese and Japanese.

**Mexican immigration.**—In the southwest we have Mexican immigration affecting especially Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. In addition to those of Mexican descent who were born in this country, many of whom can not speak our language, we have had in recent years a constant migration back and forth between our country and Mexico. These casual laborers have worked in our cotton fields, on our railroads and in our construction camps.

TABLE 23 <sup>3</sup>

## OCCUPATIONS OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED DURING THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1923

OCCUPATIONS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Professional.....	331	0.5
Skilled.....	2,268	3.6
Unskilled.....	36,642	58.4
Miscellaneous.....	1,606	2.6
No occupation.....	21,862	34.9
Total.....	62,709	100.0

The census of 1920 reports 269,885 Mexicans in the United States. The records of the Commissioner-General of Immigration show that Mexican immigration in 1907 amounted to .001 per cent of the total immigration of the country and that in 1923 it had risen to nearly 12 per cent. In 1918 as a result of war activities there was extraordinary need of unskilled labor in the southwest. Under this stimulus immigration from Mexico increased 60 per cent. These migrating

<sup>3</sup> Bamford, Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, July-August, 1924, p. 365.

Mexicans are the product of the intermarriage of the Spaniards and Indians. They are mostly of the peon or laboring class and because of their lack of educational opportunity in Mexico most of them are illiterate. Few can speak English. They are usually unskilled laborers and work for a low wage. They are said to be lacking in ambition and many of them to be mentally lazy, preferring manual labor. Because of their low wage and meager opportunities their standard of living is very low. They are said to have a high birth rate and a death rate not much above the average. They have been described as sociable, friendly, exceedingly sensitive and often vindictive. They are criticized for their unreliability.

Although there are conflicting opinions regarding the efficiency of the Mexican worker there seems to be a general judgment that the Mexican is superior to the negro as an isolated farm worker, especially in the occupation of truck growing. He also is superior to the negro in such work as herding on the plains. In the southwest, Mexicans are displacing Japanese, Greeks and Italians in railroad maintenance work and in mining. They are also efficient workers in the cotton fields, in lumber yards and mills and are said to be only a little less efficient than native white labor.

The Mexicans are criticized for their low standards of living and it is even charged against them that they are more poorly nourished than the average European, American or negro laborers in the same community. There are, however, those who consider the difficulties of Mexican immigrants to be largely the result of accidental economic circumstances. One who makes a more favorable estimation of the Mexican casual laborer describes the Mexican in the following terms:

"Generally speaking, the Mexican is individualistic. He is a mystic, loving the mysterious and the beautiful in nature. He has a subtle intuitive power in seeing the fitness of things. He is a lover of music, home, and children. 'The quality of charity is nowhere more universal than in Mexico,' says C. B.

Nordhoff; and this is the Mexican's striking characteristic in the United States too. The real meaning of charity—love—is shown everywhere. A father with a family of nine children became incensed when the authorities refused to allow him to adopt two orphans. The Mexican is exceedingly reticent and distrustful of strangers. But, if the stranger can gain his confidence, the Mexican is loyal and exceedingly hospitable. Formality and politeness are innate qualities. The one trait of his nature which is foreign to our temperament is his submission to existing conditions. He is childlike and can generally be directed into constructive activities for his own advancement." <sup>4</sup>

**Immigration and native birthrate.**—What has been known as Walker's theory of immigration has been widely held among students of problems of American population. Briefly stated this is the theory that as foreigners began to come in large numbers to our country the native population lessened its birth rate. General Francis A. Walker, the originator of this theory, believed that a study of the rate of increase of the American population demonstrated that in spite of the coming of large numbers from Europe the population of the United States was no larger than it would have been if the native population had been left to occupy their country alone. He based his argument largely upon the forecasts made by Watson before the immigration movement had become large. These forecasts of the population of the United States as Watson estimated that it would be in 1840 and 1850, allowing only for a natural increase and not at all for immigration, varied little from the actual population of the United States in 1840 and 1850, although meanwhile there had been a large inroad of foreign people. These forecasts therefore showed that the native increase had lessened in proportion to the number of foreigners that had arrived at our shores. The basis of Walker's theory appears in the following table:

<sup>4</sup> Lofstedt, Mexican Population of Pasadena, California, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, May-June, 1923, p. 261.



TABLE 24 <sup>5</sup>

	Population of the United States	
	1840	1850
The Census.....	17,069,453	23,191,876
Watson's estimate.....	17,116,526	23,185,368
Difference.....	+47,073	-6,508
Foreign arrivals during the preceding decade.....	599,000	1,713,000

Walker's theory is clearly summarized in these sentences selected from his argument:

"The access of foreigners, at the time and under the circumstances, constituted a shock to the principle of population among the native element. That principle is always acutely sensitive, alike to sentimental and to economic conditions. And it is to be noted, in passing, that not only did the decline in the native element, as a whole, take place in singular correspondence with the excess of foreign arrivals, but it occurred chiefly just in those regions to which newcomers most freely resorted. . . . The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with the new elements of the population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into the country has, from the time it first assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reinforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock. That if the foreigners had not come the native element would long have filled the places the foreigners usurped, I entertain no doubt. The competency of the American stock to do this it would be absurd to question, in the face of such a record as that for 1790 to 1830." <sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Walker, *Immigration and Degradation*; see *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, II, p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Although Walker's theory has been generally accepted certain students of population have recently called it in question. Walker appears to have made the influence of incoming people upon native increase too direct in its operation. He has perhaps also overstressed the psychological influence of the lower standards of life in competition with higher standards. The birth rate is necessarily sensitive to population pressure and anything that intensifies competition would therefore act upon the birth rate particularly of our middle class.

Even had there been no incoming foreign population it is unlikely that the birth rate would have persisted in our country at the high rate of the early part of the nineteenth century. That the coming from Europe of large numbers of people with low standards had an indirect effect upon the native birth rate can not be doubted. This inflowing immigration affected the rapid industrial development of the country, its increasing urbanization, and as the country became more settled heightened the economic competition. We have already noticed that the urbanization of a country lowers its birth rate.

The rapid industrial development of America stimulated the coming of immigrants and their coming in turn added still more to the momentum of the industrial movement. With the development of industry came an increase in luxury and a more individualistic attitude, especially in the economic realm. The mere fact that immigration helped fill our country and develop its resources rapidly for the advantage of modern commerce tended to create conditions conducive to the change in birth rate. While the following table given by Professor Ellwood exaggerates the influence of immigration, since it is based upon arrivals with no allowance for departures, nevertheless it brings out clearly that our native stock contributed a diminishing proportion of our increase of population, thus changing somewhat the character of American culture:

TABLE 25 <sup>7</sup>

YEAR	TOTAL INCREASE Per Cent	BY IMMIGRATION Per Cent	BY BIRTH Per Cent
1800.....	35.70	.....	.....
1810.....	36.38	.....	.....
1820.....	34.07	.....	.....
1830.....	33.55	.....	.....
1840.....	32.67	4.66	28.01
1850.....	35.87	10.04	25.83
1860.....	35.58	11.12	24.46
1870.....	22.63	7.25	15.38
1880.....	30.08	7.29	22.79
1890.....	25.50	10.46	15.04
1900.....	20.73	5.86	14.87
1910.....	21.02	11.57	9.45

The complete settlement of the older portion of the United States, with the resulting loss of frontier conditions and a continual increasing of the luxury and competition of a complex society, largely urban in its psychic characteristics, would necessarily lower the birth rate without the influence of an increasing immigration. Immigration hastened the operation of these checks upon the birth rate by accelerating the process of urbanization and intensifying the competition.

Most of our immigrants came from a very fecund stock and their rate of reproduction was not immediately changed by their entrance into the new country. As they become assimilated and take over American habits of life and themselves feel the competition of economic struggle the rate of increase lessens. Although the birth rate of the native stock is lowest, that of the foreigners who have lived a generation or two in America and who are partly assimilated is less than that of the same type of foreign immigrant more recently arrived.

The following study of the birth rate in Rhode Island brings out the influence of American conditions upon a lessening birth rate in a second generation of foreign stock:

<sup>7</sup> Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 225, American Book Co.

TABLE 26<sup>8</sup>NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER MARRIED WOMEN OF 15-45  
YEARS IN RHODE ISLAND

	IN CITIES OVER 10,000	IN REMAINDER OF STATE
Native white, native parentage.....	2.4	2.7
“ “ foreign “ .....	3.9	4.6
Foreign born.....	4.6	4.8
Canadian English, 1st generation.....	3.7	4.5
“ “ 2nd “ .....	3.3	3.6
“ French, 1st “ .....	5.8	6.0
“ “ 2nd “ .....	4.8	5.1
English, 1st generation.....	3.7	3.9
“ 2nd “ .....	2.5	2.8
German, 1st “ .....	3.8	4.4
“ 2nd “ .....	2.7	3.4
Irish, 1st “ .....	4.8	4.6
“ 2nd “ .....	4.3	4.1
Italian.....	5.0	5.0
Scotch, 1st generation.....	3.8	4.1
“ 2nd “ .....	2.3	3.1
Swedes 1st “ .....	3.9	4.5
“ 2nd “ .....	?	?
Other foreigners, 1st generation.....	4.2	4.4
“ “ 2nd “ .....	3.3	?
Native negro.....	3.3	3.7

We have abundant evidence that foreign born women are much more fertile under American conditions than the native born. Table 27 gives the result of a careful study made by Eastman of the birth rate of native white and foreign born white mothers in New York State.

That this record of New York State births is representative of the situation in the older portion of our country where the immigrants are most numerous is brought out by a comparison between the birth rate of Massachusetts in 1895 and what Eastman finds in New York in 1916.

<sup>8</sup> Holmes, *Trend of the Race*, p. 157, Harcourt, Brace & Co.

TABLE 27 <sup>9</sup>

BIRTHS TO WHITE MOTHERS, ACCORDING TO NATIVITY OF MOTHERS,  
IN NEW YORK STATE (EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY) IN 1916

Nationality of Mother	Estimated Population in 1916	Number of Births	Number of Births Per 1,000 Estimated Population	Crude Birth Rate of Native Country According to Last Report Before War	Date of Last Report Before the War
Total white.....	4,643,786	102,834	22.1	.....	....
Native white.....	3,777,685	64,889	17.2	.....	....
Foreign-born white.....	866,101	37,914	43.8	.....	....
English, Scotch, and Welsh.....	97,695	1,869	19.1	24.1 25.5	1913
Irish.....	124,467	1,879	15.1	22.8	1913
German (includes Ger- man Poles).....	171,435	2,421	14.1	27.5	1913
Italian.....	141,845	12,998	91.6	31.7	1913
Russian (includes Finland and Russian Poland)...	82,195	7,281	88.6	44.0	1909
Austro - Hungarian (in- cludes Austrian Poles)...	81,256	7,307	89.9	31.3 36.3	1912
Canadian.....	104,270	2,219	21.3	24.0	1913
Other foreign-born.....	62,938	1,940	30.8	.....	....

TABLE 28 <sup>10</sup>

## A COMPARISON OF THE BIRTH RATES

MASSACHUSETTS IN 1895 AND NEW YORK IN 1916

	MASSACHUSETTS	NEW YORK
Births per 1000 native population....	17.03	17.2
Births per 1000 foreign-born popu- lation.....	52.16	43.7
Births per native adult female popu- lation.....	*48.78	†48.6
Births per foreign-born females.....	*107.29	†104.2
Births per married native women of childbearing age.....	*142.47	†137.1
Births per married foreign-born women.....	*251.76	†253.2
* Ages 14-50.	† Ages 15-44.	

<sup>9</sup> Eastman, A comparison of the birth rates of native and of foreign-born white women in the State of New York during 1916, *Bulletin New York State Dept. of Health*.

<sup>10</sup> Eastman, op. cit.



**Changes in public opinion.**—There has been developing in this country for some years an increasing belief that even if we were receiving from Europe a very high type of immigrant we were nevertheless menacing our welfare by permitting too many foreigners to come here. This belief brought about the passage of the Literacy Test in 1917. This law was for the most part an attempt at restriction and was defended chiefly by those who desired to see a limitation of immigration. Its selective influence was its tendency to favor people who had had the advantage of living in countries that had developed a democratic type of popular education. This Literacy Test passed in war time was never tried out under normal conditions. The war rapidly put an end to immigration and at once the economic advantage that would accrue to the laboring classes from a decreasing immigration became apparent. As a result there was a considerable change of public opinion with reference to immigration. It was commonly recognized also that if immigration were freely permitted, post-war conditions in Europe would bring an unprecedented influx of foreigners to us.

In response to the general feeling of the country, in May, 1921, Congress passed a temporary law which had a group-selective purpose, discriminating against the new type of immigrant in favor of the old. This emergency measure terminated at the end of June in the following year. It was however extended for two years, lasting thus to June 30th, 1924. These laws permitted a yearly immigration of 3 per cent of the foreign born representatives of each nationality resident in the United States and quoted in the census of 1910. Nationality was defined as the country of birth. The law established both a monthly and a yearly quota with a possibility of the exclusion of those who were outside either quota.

Although this new policy of restriction worked serious hardship occasionally for individual immigrants and created some difficult problems of administration, the conviction of

Congress and of the people generally was that the country had started on the right track. Many sociologists, Americanization workers and labor leaders felt that the country should go still further and stop immigration altogether until our foreign population could be Americanized both in their thinking and living.

**Need of restriction.**—Whether our previous policy with reference to immigration will in the long run prove to have been wise or foolish is a matter only time can determine, but there is a rather general conviction among students of American immigration that from now on our policy must be more stringent. This control of the immigration movement is the more necessary because of the increasing opportunity, open to those who in various ways profit from immigration, to stimulate artificially the movement of European people to this country. Not only are the capitalistic employers anxious to have cheap labor for industry but the steamship companies found a large part of their profits in the past in the hordes of people they have transported to our shores.

Until recently the American attitude toward immigration has been largely sentiment. The American has taken peculiar pride in the fact that from all the ends of the earth people were coming to us, the chosen people possessing the favored land. Slowly but surely there has been an awakening to the fact that the problem of immigration was a matter for hard thinking and the application of scientific knowledge.

The war revealed the heterogeneity of our population when the nation found itself drafting soldiers who could not even understand the simplest commands of their officers when given in English. The checking of immigration as a result of the war on the seas demonstrated the advantage of a cessation of incoming multitudes. Public opinion was aroused by the danger of a tidal wave of immigration flooding us as soon as the World War came to an end; this fear resulted in a general understanding of the imperative need of some sort

of immigration restriction if our previous political ideals and standards were to continue. The working class began to recognize that their standard of living was put in hazard by the possibility of a great influx of foreign workers. Eugenists gave their support to the widening conviction that restriction was desirable, most of them insisting that the recent immigration was from inferior stocks as compared with that of an earlier period. They pointed out that even the physical standard of our people was being threatened. Above everything else it was recognized that democracy could not prosper if it had to load itself with such a quantity of people who were not trained to understand its essential principles, its obligations or its advantages.

There was a well-founded skepticism whether a thin veneer of outward behavior was substantial covering for the product of years of alien culture out of sympathy with American democracy. This attitude was, however, not unanimous. There remained social workers and others who felt that the change of American policy represented narrowness of sympathy and a misinterpretation of a social situation. They felt that the country should continue its liberality and still be the haven for the oppressed of all Europe.

The nation has responsibilities not only to its citizens of today but also to those of future generations. It at least has a solemn obligation to perpetuate its political ideals; but this it can not do if it is swamped by a heterogeneous population who live in the land but do not share a common political culture.

**Opposition to restriction.**—The opposition to the general immigration law of 1917 came from several sources. Some of the representatives of foreign nationalities already here opposed the law because they desired to have their own group increase in number. Employers of labor on a large scale felt that the restriction policy was bound to lead to a scarcity

of labor, particularly unskilled labor, and the throwing out of joint of our present industrial system. It was hardly to be expected that the steamship companies would take kindly to the new regulations. The working of the law was also watched by those who opposed it on humanitarian grounds and who were quick to discern any harshness that arose in its operation. Although much was made of the hardships that came to individual immigrants in the practical administration of the law, the real purpose of the agitation against the law was the desire of these various interests to get rid of all restriction or, failing that, to make the restriction as slight as public opinion would permit.

The advocates of the restrictive policy have insisted that even if the quick development of our country had to slow down on account of the scarcity of cheap labor this would constitute no industrial disaster. A population over-loaded with alien elements, they insisted, is too large a price to pay for the rapid utilization of our natural resources. They have argued also that with the stoppage of a great inflowing of people willing to accept low standards of living, industry would increasingly look to invention to supply the means for carrying on lines of industry that have in the past used a great deal of unskilled cheap immigrant labor.

**Our present immigration policy.**—In the Act of May 26, 1924, Congress retained the quota principle as a means of limiting immigration. For three years beginning July 1, 1924, the quotas will be 2 per cent of the number of foreign born individuals of each nationality living in the United States as determined by the census of 1890. Nationality is defined as the country of birth. Each nationality has a minimum quota of a hundred. It is estimated that this permits a total immigration of about 160,000 a year from Europe.

After the first of July, 1927, the total number admitted to the United States is fixed at 150,000 a year. This is to

be distributed among the different nationalities in the proportion which the inhabitants of continental United States in each group bear to the total population of 1920.

The quota restrictions do not apply for the most part to persons born in the countries of the western hemisphere. In the making up of the quota various classes, as for example wives of United States citizens, professors and *bona fide* students are not to be counted.

One of the most important changes of the new law is a requirement that the immigrants bring special immigrants' visas in place of the usual passports. These immigrants' visas are to be issued by American consular officials in foreign countries. No more of these shall be issued in any year to persons of a given nationality than the quota of that nationality permits. Not more than 10 per cent of the yearly quota is to be given these visas in any calendar month. The purpose of this is to count the immigrants before they arrive at American ports of entry, thus putting a stop to the earlier congestion of immigration in the first months of the year, and doing away with the racing of steamships to reach port before the quota number has been exhausted. Other provisions attempt to put an end to certain hardships that arose in the administration of the temporary laws. The visa does not permit the immigrant to enter the country, and the consular officer does not have the functions of an immigrant inspector; he simply gives to the immigrant the right to apply for admission and the certainty that he will not be excluded merely on the basis of quota limitations.

The law also refuses admission to alien immigrants ineligible to citizenship. It was this section of the law which gave occasion to most controversy. The new law does not remove any of the previous provisions for the testing of individuals who apply for admission; while retaining the former tests, it adds new provisions for the selection and restriction of our immigration.



**Our social obligations to immigrants.**—Under the most favorable circumstances most immigrants entering our country find themselves in the tumultuous experience of radical readjustment to social environment. Many of them, to some extent all of them, come with extravagant ideas of the opportunities awaiting them. They have hardly landed before they begin to be abruptly undeceived; rude shock succeeds rude shock as the immigrants come in contact with actual conditions. A large number of those who come to us are from rural communities altogether different from the city environment in which they are lodged on their arrival here; a great proportion of these country-bred newcomers remain in the city, once they have found a footing there. The change from rural to urban social conditions would call for a considerable readjustment in the old country; the task is much more difficult in the new country. Some recent arrivals fall into the hands of unscrupulous persons who exploit them. Not only do the immigrants find their home lands standards out of gear with American ways of doing things, but they are themselves excluded from the American group by their noticeable peculiarities; they soon feel the force of public opinion, which frowns upon their former habits. Two courses are open to them: they can retreat into segregated groups made up of like-minded foreigners, to maintain a life characteristic neither of the old nor of the new country; or they can try to rid themselves as rapidly as possible of everything characteristic of the past, in the effort to imitate what seems to them typical of the native American people. If the mature immigrants predominantly follow the first course, the children of immigrants most frequently take the second course.

The earliest impression of the immigrant often distorts his understanding of the meaning of his new opportunity. Disappointed, misunderstood, and misunderstanding, he soon gets the notion that others are trying to get from him all they can, and he must in self-defense assume their tactics. Smoth-

ering the idealism that he brought with him, he attempts to carry out his policy of getting all he can, and as a result the spirit he seems to show antagonizes the Americans with whom he comes into close contact.

It is inevitable that after such experiences as many immigrants have in their first years in this country they should be bitter and ill-prepared to receive from our civilization the best that it has to offer. Although the school helps in the meeting of this problem, it also often widens the gulf between immigrant parents and children, and those parents have another cause for bitterness who find their children slipping from them and embarking upon ways of living that strike the older generation as most unwholesome.

The settlements and other social agencies have done much to help the immigrant in the trying days of his early residence in the new country. There must be, however, an increasing sense of community responsibility if our immigrant problem is to be adequately handled. We have suffered from the lack of attention paid by the rank and file of Americans to the social obligations they incur by permitting immigration, as well as from the numbers of people that have come here. So long as we allow any immigration we must have a more serious desire to be just and patient and helpful to the newcomers. Every effort should be made to distribute immigrants more wisely. Social opinion must not force immigrants into ramshackle slum dwellings, from a selfish policy of using the immigrant's labor while at the same time holding aloof from him. When immigration was rising in great deluges it was difficult to create any sense of community responsibility for the immigrant; the task seemed hopeless. As if by instinct the average American withdrew from close contact. With the present restrictions, the outlook is more favorable for a constructive program on the part of established Americans in their relations to newly arrived immigrants. It would be unfair to say that in the past nothing has been accomplished.

Great efforts have been made by organizations and individuals, particularly with reference to recreation and health. The Americanization program also carried on by public authority, even though sometimes conceived in too narrow terms, has accomplished much of benefit. Although no amount of effort can entirely free the newcomers from the risk of disillusionment when daydreams strike against the hard facts of American conditions, more serious attention to the responsibility of the community itself in dealing with those who come to it from foreign lands will do much to prevent the bitterness which a rough awakening has hitherto so often brought about. An immigration program can never limit itself merely to methods of admission. For the welfare of the country, as much as for the happiness of the immigrant, there must be organized efforts to adjust the immigrant as well as to permit him to land.

## CHAPTER XII

### RACE FRICTION

**Race prejudice.**—Race consciousness, with its accompanying prejudice against other peoples, has been a prominent fact in the history of man's social evolution. Friction between groups of people having their own hereditary physical characteristics is not confined to separate races in the strict anthropological sense of race. When the groups represent two distinct races with great physical differences, and especially differences of color, friction and prejudice originate all the more easily. The basis of what Giddings calls "consciousness of kind" appears even in animal life. The writer at one time took a White Leghorn hen from her flock and colored her with red ink; when the hen in her bright crimson was put back among her mates she was fiercely attacked by those who had peacefully grown up with her from the shell. So unremitting was the onslaught that the gaily colored hen finally flew over a six-foot wire fence to escape the fury of her brothers and sisters. Other members of the flock were colored differently, and in each case with the same result.

Some students of race problems affirm that there is a widespread racial antipathy founded on color, which represents an animal-like instinct. The psychologist, however, would be slow to grant the existence of such an instinct, but would be content with pointing out the sense of difference based on physical variation, which can easily be made the basis for group feeling. As a social experience there can be no doubt that in the past as well as in the present groups of people,

particularly when they have been seriously separated by some physical characteristic, and especially when this characteristic has been color, have developed an antipathy which is usually both social and economic.

The achievement of the white man in recent historic time has shown itself in his more advanced civilization; and his aggressive attempt to exploit the wealth of all parts of the world, basing his efforts upon his superiority in the use of science and inventions, and most particularly the instruments of force, has given him a sense of racial superiority which he has emphasized in his contacts with more primitive people and with people of different color than his.

This color problem, as it is often called, exists wherever there is any degree of competition or close contact between groups of people widely different in physical characteristics. In the United States, however, there is a sharply outstanding type of color line, due to the differences between the negroes and the whites, differences that are in part traditional, in part economic, in part social in the wider sense, but chiefly racial, since the line of color that separates these two great groups is so spectacular.<sup>1</sup> The whites, possessing every advantage of political, economic and social position in their relationships with the colored minority who have still clinging to them the stigma of their previous slave status, have developed a race consciousness which assumes racial superiority.

Transported from the relatively simple cultural life of Africa to the more complex modern civilization of America, the negro race has progressed with unparalleled rapidity, until a significant number of its people have been so assimilated as to share American standards to a degree that leaves nothing but color to distinguish them from the great mass of whites. As a consequence their achievement in adopting American customs and standards makes them more and more unwilling to accept the handicap of political and economic inequali-

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 73.



ties which the dominant whites take as a matter of course. Thus the negroes by their increasing achievement have given greater cause for the antipathy of those whites who insist upon the racial inferiority of the negroes in addition to their obvious political, economic and social handicap.

Easy as it seems to demonstrate at any given time the social or cultural superiority of one racial group over another, the problem of race inferiority is a much more difficult thing to prove. Although there are differences of opinion among the anthropologists, the general trend of anthropological science with reference to the question of race inferiority and superiority is well expressed by Kroeber:

"The bodily differences between races would appear to render it in the highest degree likely that corresponding congenital mental differences do exist. These differences might not be profound, compared with the sum total of common human faculties, much as the physical variations of mankind fall within the limits of a single species. Yet they would preclude identity. As for the vexed question of superiority, lack of identity would involve at least some degree of greater power in certain respects in some races. These preëminences might be rather evenly distributed, so that no one race would notably excel the others in the sum total or average of its capacities; or they might show a tendency to cluster on one rather than on another race. In either event, however, the fact of race difference, qualitative if not quantitative, would remain.

"But it is one thing to admit this theoretical probability and then stop through ignorance of what the differences are, and another to construe the admission as justification of mental attitudes which may be well founded emotionally but are in considerable measure unfounded objectively.

"In short, it is a difficult task to establish any race as either superior or inferior to another, but relatively easy to prove that we entertain a strong prejudice in favor of our own racial superiority."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, *Anthropology*, pp. 84-85, Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Boas, the dean of American anthropologists, expresses his conclusion with reference to the assumption of superiority of race in somewhat stronger terms:

"We have found that the unproved assumption of identity of cultural achievement and of mental ability is founded on an error of judgment; that the variations in cultural development can as well be explained by a consideration of the general course of historical events without recourse to the theory of material differences of mental faculty in different races. We have found, furthermore, that a similar error underlies the common assumption that the white race represents physically the highest type of man, but that anatomical and physiological considerations do not support these views."<sup>3</sup>

**African background.**—It is the present teaching of science that man, although divided in distinct groups which we call races, represents the single species which was developed from a distinct type of pre-human anthropological stock. These various races, therefore, had a common origin but have come to have each its own peculiar racial traits as a result of segregation in and adaptation to various geographical environments. The negro race is the type of man which was developed in the tropics; in color of skin and other physical characteristics, the negro represents an advantageous adaptation to the climate of the hot regions. It is claimed also that the negro's mental traits show the same influence of the African environment. The American slave, when brought from Africa to the colonies, carried with him the biological traits that resulted from the selective influences of his environment over a long period of time. This background of the American negro must be kept in mind; it also must be remembered that the negro had in Africa his own culture, which was more primitive and altogether different from that to which he was so unceremoniously introduced.

<sup>3</sup> Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 29, Macmillan.

We are learning that inheritance does not represent so simple a mode of transmission as was formerly thought. The operation of heredity is most complicated, and modern science by advancing knowledge is revealing these complexities. A change of environment such as the negro had when brought to this country immediately shows itself in the expression of racial traits. Professor Jennings in his recent article on heredity and environment makes this clear:

"Every creature has many inheritances; which one shall be realized depending on the conditions under which it develops; but man is the creature that has the greatest number of possible heritages. Or, more accurately, men and other organisms do not inherit their characteristics at all. What their parents leave them are certain packets of chemicals which under one set of conditions produce one set of characters, under other conditions produce other sets."<sup>4</sup>

In his application of this to American race problems Jennings further says:

"Heredity is stressed as all powerful; environment as almost powerless: a vicious fallacy, not supported by the results of investigation. We are warned not to admit to America certain peoples now differing from ourselves, on the basis of the resounding assertion that biology informs us that the environment can bring out nothing whatever but the hereditary characters. Such an assertion is perfectly empty and idle; if true it is merely by definition: anything that the environment brings out is hereditary, if the word hereditary has any meaning. But from this we learn nothing whatever as to what a new environment will bring out. It may bring out characteristics that have never before appeared in that race. What the race will show under the new environment can not be deduced from general biological principles. Only study of the race itself and its manner of

<sup>4</sup> Jennings, *Heredity and Environment*, *Scientific Monthly*, Sept., 1924, p. 236.

reaction to diverse environments can give us light on this matter." <sup>5</sup>

The intelligence tests, which were so widely used during the World War for the purpose of having a reasonable basis for the assignment of men to the various tasks, appear to bring out the influence of a cultural environment upon general intelligence. For example, the results of these tests show that the northern negro easily surpasses the American Italian, although the latter are either descendants of the Romans and therefore members of the Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race, or they are members of the Alpine branch, representing a strain of blood to be found among many of our native whites. This table shows how difficult it is to eliminate cultural environmental influences from these tests:

TABLE 29 <sup>6</sup>

## ALPHA TEST: LITERATES

GROUP AND NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS	BELOW		ABOVE
	C	C	C
Englishmen, 374.....	5	74	21
White draft, generally, 72,618....	16	69	15
Alabama whites, 697.....	19	72	9
New York negroes, 1021.....	21	72	7
Italians, 575.....	33	64	3
Negroes generally, 5681.....	54	44	2
Alabama negroes, 262.....	56	44	(.4)

## BETA TEST: ILLITERATES

White draft generally, 26,012.....	58	41	1
Italians, 2888.....	64	35	1
New York negroes, 440.....	72	28	0
Poles, 263.....	76	24	(.4)
Alabama whites, 384.....	80	20	0
Negroes generally, 11,633.....	91	9	(.2)
Alabama negroes, 1043.....	97	3	(.1)

<sup>5</sup> Jennings, Heredity and Environment, *Scientific Monthly*, Sept., 1924, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 78.

The average number of years' schooling of the negroes as compared with the white men drafted appears thus:

TABLE 30 <sup>7</sup>

White draft, native born.....	6.0	(almost through Grade 7)
“ “ , foreign “.....	4.7	( “ “ “ 5)
Negro “ , northern “.....	4.9	( “ “ “ 5)
“ “ , southern “.....	2.6	(half way through Grade 3)

It is clear that we can draw no definite conclusion on the basis of the data now available as to whether the general differences between whites and negroes are really racial or environmental, or if both in what proportion racial influences appear as compared with environmental. The army tests do not at least permit us to classify all groups of negroes as inferior in capacity to all the groups of whites with whom they are compared.

**The negro in America.**—The negro came to America as a slave and his experience in slavery proved both beneficial and harmful; he was rudely forced into a more advanced civilization which put greater demands upon him, particularly with reference to the necessity of systematic work. A considerable number of negro slaves were brought into close contact with the members of the household of their owners, often with the resultant development of mutual understanding and affection. The negro learned a language which was eventually to become a medium by which he could share the culture of his new dwelling-place. On the other hand the status of slavery was as much out of harmony with the humane tendencies of the nineteenth century as it was archaic as a profitable means of economic production. Although there were very great differences between individual owners in their treatment of slaves, the most benevolent master had no way of guaranteeing the future of his black dependents so long as they remained slaves. The negroes' family life was lack-

<sup>7</sup> Gault, *Social Psychology*, p. 96, Henry Holt & Co.



ing in sacredness and liable at any time to be broken up, especially at the master's death.

Under a system which in its very best expression was necessarily highly paternalistic, the negro had little opportunity to develop self-reliance. His genuine loyalty met the severe testing of the Civil War, disclosing clearly that slavery had built up a relationship which embodied a large measure of mutual understanding, and was not the institution of brutal force that it had been pictured by northern reformers.

The South, prostrated by its struggle, at the end of the war found itself confronted with a most difficult problem as a result of the unwise haste of the reconstruction period. The negroes, recently moved out of slavery by federal legislation, were pushed into a position of political equality for which the great majority were most certainly unprepared, and the political antagonism between blacks and whites developed until it quickly brought about a most unfortunate race antipathy. It is unfair, however, to assume that this situation was the typical one even in the South after the war, for as a matter of fact most of the blacks and whites continued the relationship of social dominance on the one side and dependence on the other, which had been shaken by the reconstruction period, but not destroyed. To a large extent, however, there was deep friction between the two races, particularly whenever the leaders of the negro race made demands for greater social or political or economic opportunity.

The influence of Booker T. Washington in turning negro leadership from protest against political inequality or mere cultural limitations imposed by the whites to the policy of improving the condition of the race by greater economic efficiency was the wisest expression of negro statesmanship from the reconstruction period to the period ending with the World War. Mr. Washington's program, based upon the vocational training and economic betterment of negroes, was a shrewd recognition of the necessary first step in the advance-

ment of the race, and also one that appealed to the just and thoughtful southerner who had at heart the welfare of both races. It was natural enough that the cautious and conciliatory policy of Washington should meet with opposition from negro leaders who chafed under the discriminations put upon the race, and whose eyes were so centered upon the final end of negro ambition as to give scant attention to the necessary means.

The World War marked a crisis in the relationship between negroes and whites in the United States. Not only did the negroes fight side by side with white soldiers against other white soldiers, and thus find from experience that they could contend successfully with representatives of the white race, but even more were they influenced by their expectation that the political, economic and social discriminations which they were increasingly unable to accept with their former complacency would be melted away. The courage shown by the negroes in the war, which was amply attested by army commanders, their intense expression of loyalty, their acceptance of the draft and their personal experience in France of a different social status than they had been accustomed to in this country ended the period of social subserviency so far as negro leadership is concerned. The more independent attitude of the negro, particularly after his return from his army experience, was followed immediately by an increase of race friction, especially in the South. Another influence that is having much to do with the changing status of the negro is his migration northward from the rural South. This was greatly accelerated by the World War because of the need of a sufficient supply of labor, chiefly unskilled workers, for the factories in the north producing war material at the time that immigration from Europe was decreased to practically nothing.

**The negro increase.**—The question of the relative increase or decrease in negro population is befogged with uncertain

statistics and varying interpretations of such material as we now have upon which to base a conclusion. Frederick L. Hoffman in his "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," as far back as 1896 stated that the negro before emancipation was at least the equal physically of the white, if not the superior, as evidenced by statistics of mortality. As a result of his study of the mortality tendencies of the negroes in the period after their freedom was given them, Hoffman affirmed that the tendency of the race had been physically downward and unless checked would in the end lead to the extermination of the American negro.<sup>8</sup> More recently Judge Blanton Fortson, writing on the negro migrations to the north, states that the statistical evidence points to the gradual dying of the race as it moves northward, due to a decrease in fecundity.<sup>9</sup>

On page 314 is given a table by East which shows the comparative growth of our negro and white populations. In interpreting this table it must be remembered that the white race has been increased by immigration, while the black race has gained practically nothing from this source during the period covered by this study. Since 1920, however, there has been a marked increase in negro migration from the West Indies.

The difficulty in the attempt to judge the physiological adaptation of the negro to the American environment lies in the great social and economic differences between negroes and whites, which make it impossible for us to know whether the variation in the births and deaths of the two races is social or racial or both social and racial in its significance. Certainly the handicaps operating at present on the standards of life among the negroes would tend to produce an unnaturally high death rate.

<sup>8</sup> Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

<sup>9</sup> Northward to Extinction, *The Forum*, Nov., 1924, pp. 599-600.

Table 31 <sup>10</sup>

## COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATIONS IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

(Figures in millions, adjusted in 1870 and 1890 by taking the geometric mean of contiguous censuses.)

DATE OF CENSUS	POPULATION		INCREASE IN DECADE		PER CENT INCREASE	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1790.....	3.17	.76	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800.....	4.31	1.00	1.14	.24	36.0	32.3
1810.....	5.86	1.38	1.55	.38	36.0	37.5
1820.....	7.87	1.77	2.00	.39	34.3	28.6
1830.....	10.54	2.33	2.67	.56	34.1	31.4
1840.....	14.20	2.87	3.66	.54	34.7	23.4
1850.....	19.55	3.64	5.35	.77	37.7	26.6
1860.....	27.00	4.44	7.45	.80	38.1	22.1
1870.....	34.30	5.41	7.30	.97	27.0	21.7
1880.....	43.57	6.58	9.27	1.17	27.0	21.7
1890.....	54.13	7.70	10.56	1.12	24.2	17.0
1900.....	67.25	8.83	13.12	1.13	24.2	14.7
1910.....	81.73	9.83	14.48	1.00	21.5	11.2
1920.....	94.82	10.46	13.09	.63	16.0	6.5

The rate of increase of the mulatto is even more difficult to determine. According to the census the proportion of the negro population having white blood was about 12 per cent in 1870 and 21 per cent in 1910. In 1870 there were about 600,000 mulattoes; this number had increased by 1910 to 2,000,000. Although there has been plenty of theorizing with reference to the differences in the fertility of these two classes of the negro population we have little reliable fact upon which to build a conclusion.

According to East, Dr. E. A. Jordan of the University of Virginia has gathered data which shows that the mulatto has a greater capability of bearing children and a greater net

<sup>10</sup> East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, p. 138, Scribners.

fertility as a result of his ability in caring for them. East suggests that in another thirty years there may be more mulattoes than blacks in the United States. Mulattoes are said to prefer marriage among themselves. Hoffman in 1896 said that he preferred to use the term *colored* rather than *negro* "since the type of the pure negro is rarely met with" as a result of the widespread infusion of white blood, through white males.<sup>11</sup>

There seems to be little doubt that the death rate of negroes is raised by their living in cities. Both blacks and whites react to city life by a decrease in their birth rate, but the drop in the birth rate is greater in the case of the negroes. It is not difficult to uncover some of the reasons for this lower birth rate and higher death rate among urban negroes. The report of the Chicago Commission on the Negro in Chicago reveals the unsanitary, congested and generally poor housing conditions that have as a matter of course great influence upon the mortality statistics.<sup>12</sup> Dr. DuBois in his very careful study of the Philadelphia negro, written in 1899, shows in detail similar unwholesome conditions.<sup>13</sup>

Conditions in southern cities are no better; indeed there is no expression of the prejudice that handicaps the negro race more detrimental to the social life of the negro, including standards of life that have to do with health, than the discrimination he receives in renting or buying homes.

At present the high rate of infant mortality among the negroes is part of the explanation for the relatively slow increase of the negro population. Here again social conditions show themselves in low standards of housekeeping and lack of training, and particularly the greater tendency of the negro mothers to work outside the home during the months immediately preceding and following the birth of their children.

<sup>11</sup> Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>12</sup> Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 153.

<sup>13</sup> Dubois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, pp. 292-93.



With reference to the high rate of tuberculosis and pneumonia among negroes, it is also difficult to separate racial tendencies from social influences. It is obvious that the social and economic handicaps of the negro will tend to increase these diseases, even though there may also be, as seems likely, a racial predisposition toward respiratory diseases.

The high rate of venereal disease among negroes lowers the birth rate and saps the vitality of a considerable number of negro children.

The life expectation of the negroes as compared with the whites is shown in this table:

TABLE 32 <sup>14</sup>  
EXPECTATION OF LIFE  
(Original Registration States)

WHITE				
Year	Sex	Age 0	Age 32	Age 62
1920	Males.....	53.98	34.93	13.38
1910	Males.....	50.23	33.33	12.85
	Difference.....	3.75	1.60	.53
1920	Females.....	56.33	36.12	14.01
1910	Females.....	53.62	35.40	13.70
	Difference.....	2.71	.72	.31
NEGRO				
1920	Males.....	40.14	28.50	11.42
1910	Males.....	34.05	26.16	10.88
	Difference.....	6.09	2.34	.54
1920	Females.....	42.16	28.82	12.12
1910	Females.....	37.67	28.33	11.96
	Difference.....	4.49	.49	0.16

Contagious disease recognizes no color line. It is for the interest of the whites as well as blacks, both north and south,

<sup>14</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 361, Negro Year Book Co.

that everything be done to improve the health of the negro race. The social interrelations of the two elements of our population are too intimate to make it possible for the group more fortunate in social resources to ignore the living conditions of the other. Not until both races enjoy substantially the same wholesome conditions of social and economic life can there be any just comparison of the vitality of the two races under American climatic conditions.

**Economic and industrial progress.**—The negro population has made most gratifying economic progress. It is probable that the property of the negroes of this country is increasing, through purchases and increment in value, by at least fifty million dollars a year. In 1922 it was estimated that the property of negroes in the United States was worth over one billion five hundred million dollars, and the land that they owned comprised more than twenty-two million acres, an area greater than that of the five New England states, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.<sup>15</sup>

Another significant forward step by the negro has been his increasing ownership of homes: it is estimated that in 1866 there were 12,000 homes owned by negroes; in 1890, when the first census of proprietorship of homes was made, it was found that negroes had acquired 264,288 homes; in 1910 they owned 506,590 homes; by 1922 this number had risen to over 600,000, or one out of every four negro homes.

In 1900 Booker T. Washington had much to do with the organization of a national business league which had for its purpose the stimulating of negro industry. At that time there were only four negro banks in this country; in 1922 there were 74 with a total capital of \$6,250,000, transacting a business estimated as at least \$100,000,000 a year. In 1900 there were fifty negro drugstores; now there are between four and five hundred. Negro insurance companies wrote \$75,-

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

000,000 worth of policies in the year 1921-22 and paid out \$9,000,000 worth of benefits in that year.<sup>16</sup>

It is said that in 1867 there were only fifty types of negro business and four thousand workers; in 1922 there were two hundred classifications of business and fifty thousand workers. Perhaps most promising of all is the growing tendency of the negroes to own land. Although in a few counties in some southern states there has been opposition to this purchase of land by negroes, for the most part it has been encouraged because negroes become better farmers and better citizens as a natural consequence of owning the land they cultivate.

Dr. Branson of the University of North Carolina, one of the foremost students of rural conditions in the South, says:

"But during the last thirty years the negroes of the South have come to feel that bank books and barns are more important than ballot boxes. At all events they appear in the 1910 census not as farm workers or farm tenants merely, but as farm owners in large numbers.

"Nearly one-fourth of all the negro farmers in the South own the farms they cultivate. In Florida they own nearly one-half of them, in Maryland and Virginia more than three-fifths of them, and in West Virginia nearly four-fifths of them. Altogether his farm properties are valued at nearly \$500,000,000. Negro landholdings in the aggregate make an area a little larger than the state of South Carolina. The Russian serfs, after fifty years of freedom, have not made greater headway. They have not done so well indeed in their conquest of illiteracy."<sup>17</sup>

At the time of the Emancipation Act about 90 per cent of all the negroes in the United States were illiterate, for nearly all of the slave states had legislation forbidding the education of negroes. The decrease in illiteracy from then up to the present has been most marked, as shown in this table:

<sup>16</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 342.

<sup>17</sup> Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 263, Doran Co.

TABLE 33 <sup>18</sup>  
PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO ILLITERATES 1880-1920

YEAR	NUMBER	PER CENT
1920	1,842,161	22.9
1910	2,227,731	30.4
1900	2,853,194	44.5
1890	3,042,668	57.1
1880	3,220,878 *	70.0

\* Colored, including Negroes, Indians, Chinese and Japanese.

Nevertheless the negro child still has a most inadequate opportunity for educational training, as the following facts demonstrate. According to the Census Report of 1920 there were 3,796,957 negro children from five to twenty years of age; of this number 53.5 per cent were enrolled in school. The annual expenditure for public schools in the southern states appears in this table:

TABLE 34 <sup>19</sup>  
ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY STATES

States	Total Expenditures		Average Expenditures Per Child of School Age		Per Cent Expenditures		Per Cent Each Race of Total Population	
	For Whites	For Negroes	For Whites	For Negroes	For Whites	For Negroes	For Whites	For Negroes
Alabama.....	\$8,678,544	\$1,072,628	\$15.80	\$3.00	89	11	61.6	38.4
Arkansas.....	6,386,233	1,216,401	13.15	6.86	84	16	73.0	27.0
Delaware.....	1,082,140	113,352	20.00	12.00	89	11	86.7	13.6
District of Columbia...	5,411,012	1,803,671	74.00	62.75	75	25	74.7	25.1
Florida.....	6,340,293	662,894	30.00	5.75	90.6	9.4	65.9	34.0
Georgia.....	10,204,777	1,384,881	16.31	2.83	88	12	58.3	41.7
Kentucky.....	7,850,914	677,562	10.29	9.46	90	10	90.2	9.2
Louisiana.....	10,167,164	921,525	25.37	3.49	91	9	61.0	38.9
Maryland.....	7,997,940	824,667	22.09	10.52	90	10	83.1	16.9
Mississippi.....	5,875,524	1,468,880	18.12	3.91	80	20	47.7	52.2
Missouri.....	22,077,900	872,100	22.24	19.40	96	4	94.7	5.2
N. Carolina.....	10,382,120	1,832,138	15.37	5.83	85	15	69.7	29.8
Oklahoma.....	22,028,006	798,943	31.59	14.05	96	4	89.8	7.4
S. Carolina.....	5,894,917	765,481	19.33	2.06	88	12	48.6	51.4
Tennessee.....	12,301,751	1,677,511	18.05	10.43	88	12	80.7	19.3
Texas.....	23,981,426	3,678,148	19.01	13.16	88	12	84.0	15.9
Virginia.....	11,661,264	1,441,279	20.55	5.59	89	11	70.1	29.9
West Virginia..	10,910,120	381,443	22.30	14.47	97	3	94.1	5.9
Total.....	\$192,232,045	\$21,593,504	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The differences in the various states with reference to the percentage of negro illiteracy are given in this table:

<sup>18</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 241.

<sup>19</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 240.

TABLE 35 <sup>20</sup>  
 NUMBER AND PER CENT NEGRO ILLITERATES 10 YEARS  
 OF AGE AND OVER BY STATES IN 1920

STATES BY RANK	NUMBER NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	NUMBER ILLITERATES	PER CENT ILLITERATES
1. New York .....	171,303	5,032	2.9
2. Minnesota .....	7,776	241	3.1
3. North Dakota .....	405	16	4.0
4. Washington .....	6,064	245	4.0
5. Wisconsin .....	4,458	182	4.1
6. Michigan .....	52,193	2,203	4.2
7. New Mexico .....	5,362	228	4.3
8. Arizona .....	7,369	338	4.6
9. Utah .....	1,273	59	4.6
10. California .....	33,391	1,579	4.7
11. Oregon .....	1,893	89	4.7
12. Nebraska .....	11,489	556	4.8
13. Nevada .....	313	16	5.1
14. South Dakota .....	678	35	5.2
15. Wyoming .....	1,251	66	5.3
16. Idaho .....	814	44	5.4
17. Maine .....	1,091	64	5.9
18. Montana .....	1,450	87	6.0
19. New Jersey .....	96,801	5,910	6.1
20. Pennsylvania .....	240,027	14,645	6.1
21. Colorado .....	9,909	619	6.2
22. Connecticut .....	17,441	1,078	6.2
23. Vermont .....	454	28	6.2
24. Illinois .....	157,205	10,476	6.7
25. New Hampshire .....	490	33	6.7
26. Massachusetts .....	37,603	2,565	6.8
27. Iowa .....	15,909	1,283	8.1
28. Ohio .....	157,912	12,715	8.1
29. Dist. of Columbia .....	93,872	8,053	8.6
30. Kansas .....	48,166	4,228	8.8
31. Indiana .....	68,361	6,476	9.5
32. Rhode Island .....	8,192	839	10.2
33. Missouri .....	152,861	18,528	12.1
34. Oklahoma .....	114,536	14,205	12.4
35. West Virginia .....	68,786	10,513	15.3
36. Texas .....	572,719	102,053	17.8
37. Maryland .....	194,825	35,404	18.2
38. Delaware .....	24,598	4,700	19.1
39. Kentucky .....	192,657	40,548	21.0
40. Florida .....	258,449	55,639	21.5
41. Arkansas .....	363,403	79,245	21.8
42. Tennessee .....	354,426	79,532	22.4
43. Virginia .....	520,657	122,322	23.5
44. North Carolina .....	545,542	133,674	24.5
45. Georgia .....	896,127	261,115	29.1
46. Mississippi .....	703,627	205,813	29.3
47. South Carolina .....	618,928	181,422	29.3
48. Alabama .....	674,004	210,690	31.3
49. Louisiana .....	536,362	206,730	38.5

<sup>20</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 242.



Educational facilities available for negroes, particularly in the rural sections of the South, are confessedly meager; the salaries paid negro teachers are pitifully small; supervision is commonly lacking or most unsatisfactory. The equipment of school buildings is often inadequate, the curriculum and the texts studied are frequently ill adapted to the negro child, and especially to the rural negro child. It must be remembered, however, that the South has found it difficult to provide satisfactory educational opportunities for the white child, even though more has been done for him than for the negro. Of late there has been a more determined effort made to improve the school facilities for both colored and white children in the rural South. Child labor, as well as a dearth of good schools, hampers the training of the negro child.

Hampton, founded in Virginia in 1868, and Tuskegee Institute, established in Alabama in 1881, have been the promoters of the idea of industrial education for the negro and their influence has spread all through the South, attracting the attention even of European educators. In spite of the magnificent service of these schools, it is apparent that the negro race has too few trained leaders. According to the Negro Year Book there were about 7850 negro college graduates in the United States in 1921; in that year 461 negroes were reported to have received the Bachelor's Degree. A race of more than ten millions are hopelessly handicapped with such a small number of individuals trained in our colleges and universities.

Doubtless it would be an advantage if many of the negro educational institutions of college grade could combine their resources and organize a smaller number of well-staffed and well-supported colleges. The study of the statistics of the existing universities and colleges for negroes shows clearly that most of them have an insufficient income, and that notwithstanding their designation as colleges, their attendance

is made up mostly of students electing courses of non-college grade. Many of these institutions are denominational in character and receive a large proportion of their support from northern gifts. It would be most advantageous if this work could be concentrated and a sharp distinction made between institutions that are doing chiefly the work of high schools and academies, and those that are primarily colleges and universities.

**Crime.**—The negro's difficulty in maintaining good social adjustment appears, as one would expect it to, in his high percentage of criminal behavior. The courts are severe in dealing with the negro criminal and the sentences imposed tend to be harsher than for whites; this shows most in the length of imprisonment. The policy that arose in the southern states, of leasing criminals for highway construction work, encouraged the arrest and sentencing of negroes not infrequently for comparatively trivial offenses.<sup>21</sup>

About 70 per cent of the prison population in the southern states are negroes; in the east, about 12 per cent; in the west, about 6 per cent.<sup>22</sup> In each section this rate, as compared with the proportion of negroes in the general population, is extremely high. The tendency of the courts to give negroes long sentences would slightly influence this criminal ratio. The negro is more given to crime when he resides in cities; and the North has, in proportion to population, more criminals than does the South.<sup>23</sup> The census of 1910 shows that of all the prisoners between fifteen and twenty-five years of age, one-fourth were negroes, the excess of negro criminality in this age group being two and one-half times that of the whites in proportion to population. Negro criminality reaches its maximum between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four, while among whites the maximum comes between thirty-five

<sup>21</sup> Cable, *The Silent South*, pp. 152-54.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Census: *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 437.

<sup>23</sup> Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 348.

and fifty-four; in this age group the whites are proportionately one-fifth more criminal.<sup>24</sup>

In 1910 women constituted 19.1 per cent of the negro criminals committed to penal institutions; and 7.2 per cent of the whites were women. The offenses of the white females appear to be somewhat more serious than those charged against the negro women, and the average sentence of the white women, longer.<sup>25</sup>

The increase of crime among negroes is evidenced by this table:

TABLE 36 <sup>26</sup>  
COLORED PERSONS IN PRISON

YEAR	NORTHERN STATES	SOUTHERN STATES
1870.....	2,025	6,031
1880.....	3,774	12,973
1890.....	5,635	19,244
1904.....	7,527	18,550
1910.....	10,081	28,620

PRISONERS PER 100,000 OF COLORED POPULATION

1870.....	372	136
1880.....	515	221
1890.....	773	284
1904.....	765	220
1910.....	722	323

Until the influence of the social environment of the negro can be separated from his race tendency, it is impossible to charge this greater criminality to his racial traits.

Illegitimacy is also more prevalent in the negro than in the white population. Kammerer gives the following comparison between illegitimate births of white and colored women for Washington and St. Louis:

<sup>24</sup> U. S. Census, op. cit., pp. 445-47.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 352.

TABLE 37 <sup>27</sup>

YEAR	CITY		TOTAL BIRTHS	ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS	
				TOTAL	RATIO TO ALL BIRTHS
1911.....	Washington	{ White	4,943	105	2.1
		{ Colored	2,524	557	22.1
1911-1913, Aver-	} St. Louis	{ White	14,234	555	3.9
age per year...		{ Colored	844	143	16.9

Hoffman's investigation convinced him that even allowing for improvement in the registration of births there was reason to believe that illegitimacy was not decreasing. He reports the following record of illegitimacy for the city of Washington, and says that statistics from Knoxville, Tennessee, and Mobile, Alabama, pointed to the same conclusion.

TABLE 38 <sup>28</sup>

## ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

	PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS	
	White	Colored
1879.....	2.3	17.6
1883.....	3.6	19.0
1889.....	3.6	23.5
1894.....	2.6	26.5
Average for 16 years..	2.9	22.5

In the United States Registration Area the number of illegitimate births per thousand in 1920 was 14.2 for whites and 125.6 for negroes.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kammerer, *The Unmarried Mother*, p. 6, Little, Brown & Co.

<sup>28</sup> Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>29</sup> Birth Registration Area of the U. S., Fifth Annual Report.

**Lynching.**—The proneness of the American to inflict punishment without legal court procedure, by some form of lynching, has been one of his most grievous faults; even before the Revolution, under the stimulation of pioneering conditions, this tendency toward lynching was apparent. It has shown itself both north and south and is by no means confined to the crime of rape as is frequently supposed. Lynching of negroes by brutal means was known in the United States long before the Civil War. It was usually practiced against slaves who were charged with plotting insurrection or with rape. In May, 1835, two negroes were burned to death in Alabama for having murdered two white children.<sup>30</sup>

From 1889 to 1922 there have been 3500 lynchings in this country, 721 of whites and the remainder of colored people. In 1919 there were 83 lynchings, 27 for murder, 14 for assault on women, 5 for attempted assault, 5 for insult and the rest for various causes.

A conclusive answer to the argument that lynching is the only just punishment for rape is found in Table 39 which gives of the causes of lynching.

Not only is lynching an expression of American lawlessness and unwillingness to trust to the courts the task of dealing with the criminal, but it also reveals an utterly mistaken notion of the efficacy of the lynching program in curtailing the frequency of felonies. Lynching is itself a crime, and nothing could be more stimulating to the perverted and undisciplined negroes than the suggestions that are necessarily bound up with a spectacular execution of an offender charged with rape; imagination follows attention and if the report of a lynching creates fear in one negro, it arouses in another the recurrent thought of the deed which brought about the lynching. For other offenses than murder or rape, lynching stirs up race antipathy and makes the criminally inclined

<sup>30</sup> Cutler, *Lynch Law*, p. 108.



TABLE 39 <sup>31</sup>

## CAUSE OF LYNCHING 1889-1921—CLASSIFIED

Homicide		Feloni- ous Assault	Rape	At- tempted Rape	Rob- bery and Theft	“Insults” to white Persons	All Other Causes
1889..	51	5	34	4	19	..	63
1890..	25	2	26	2	5	..	67
1891..	52	2	38	2	28	..	70
1892..	88	4	37	12	38	2	74
1893..	56	2	34	4	10	2	92
1894..	73	2	42	10	16	6	41
1895..	71	1	29	13	20	1	36
1896..	42	9	29	6	14	..	31
1897..	68	5	25	9	23	2	34
1898..	74	5	11	7	8	2	20
1899..	56	...	5	6	6	..	34
1900..	43	10	18	13	7	..	24
1901..	48	9	21	8	21	1	27
1902..	43	7	19	11	1	..	15
1903..	53	8	16	7	...	1	19
1904..	36	4	14	6	1	2	24
1905..	34	4	15	4	2	..	7
1906..	24	7	16	14	1	1	9
1907..	20	7	13	11	4	1	7
1908..	50	10	14	6	4	3	32
1909..	28	12	3	18	1	3	5
1910..	38	6	16	8	2	2	2
1911..	37	4	9	6	1	4	10
1912..	37	6	10	2	1	3	5
1913..	20	11	5	5	2	1	8
1914..	30	8	6	1	1	..	6
1915..	26	10	11	...	9	3	8
1916..	20	7	3	9	8	2	5
1917..	6	2	7	5	2	2	14
1918..	28	2	10	6	2	..	16
1919..	28	3	9	10	1	6	26
1920..	22	9	15	3	...	3	9
1921..	19	7	16	3	...	3	16
Total	1346	190	576	231	258	56	856

<sup>31</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 355.

negro all the more likely to turn to crime and violence against whites.

The Honorable Joseph G. Jones, an Alabama jurist, says:

"The evils of the mob have almost boundless sweep in all the relations of life. Can any man, in the wildest flight of the brain, picture Robert E. Lee or John B. Gordon, no matter what the charge against the criminal, joining a mob to break down a jail, and taking a prisoner out to hang him? Why not? Because they are types of courage and honor, and justice and veneration for law, and all these cry out against such an act. No man who forms a part of the flood of passion and cowardice which storms a jail and murders a defenseless prisoner, is ever again the same moral being. Then and there a human tiger is born. He comes to despise the sanctity of human life. He is swift to the shedding of the blood of his neighbors, and sure to give loose rein to his passion when it turns upon one who is weak and helpless. These he will always find. He is an enemy of the youth of the land; for he teaches them it is right to unbridle their worst passions and to trample down those who are set over them." <sup>32</sup>

Not only does the best thought of the South recognize the grossness and futility of the lynching program as a deterrent of crime, but it has always taken this position. The less restrained members of the community, stimulated by social hysteria and seeking to give vent to primitive propensities that human nature finds it difficult to outgrow, have taken advantage of the excitement following some atrocious criminal act charged against a negro, or the fury roused by a provoking clash between whites and blacks, to set upon a negro victim before the calmer citizens have been able to restrain them.

The North is learning by sad experience that under the appropriate stimulating circumstances, lower human nature breaks out into violence north of the Mason and Dixon Line

<sup>32</sup> *Journal of Social Forces*, Sept., 1923, p. 590.

just as quickly as it does south of the line. The lynching habit of the American people can not be thought of as a sectional fault. It represents a return to the social anarchy of pre-savage society, and its effect upon the public mind makes it a menace, not to our colored population alone, but to all the people. It is heartening, therefore, to see the growing protest against lynching by our judges, newspapers and other institutions that influence public opinion in the South as well as in the North.

The advertisement that lynching has given cases of rape and indecent assault of white women by negroes has created the impression that this horrible occurrence is the outcropping of a racial trait that can only be prevented from expression by the brutality of lynching. Sir Harry Johnston, writing out of a long and intimate knowledge as one of the most efficient of modern administrators of primitive people, says:

“Indecent assaults by negroes on negro women or children are not uncommon, a little more common, possibly, than they are among people of the same social status in England and in some Scotch towns. But it is scarcely too sweeping an assertion to say that there has been *no* case in Jamaica or any other British West India island of rape, or indecent assault or annoyance on the part of a black man or mulatto against a white woman since the Emancipation of the Slaves. Sir Sydney Olivier, reviewing this topic as regards Jamaica, says with truth: ‘A young white woman can walk alone in the hills or about Kingston, in daylight or dark, through populous settlements of exclusively black or colored folk, without encountering anything but friendly salutation from man or woman. Single ladies may hire a carriage and drive all over the island without trouble or molestation. . . . Whatever may be the cause, it is an indisputable fact that Jamaica, or any other West India island, is as safe for white women to go about in, if not safer than, any European country with which I am acquainted.’ The same statement might be applied with equal truth to all parts of Negro Africa.”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, p. 279, Macmillan.

**Radicalism among negroes.**—Only two newspapers were published in the United States by colored persons in 1863. The first negro newspaper published in the South, at Augusta, Georgia, was called "The Colored American," and appeared in October, 1865. There are now 450 newspapers and other publications, concerned exclusively with the welfare of colored people, nearly all of which are edited by negroes.<sup>34</sup> Two of the best known of these periodicals are *The Crisis*, a monthly representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the *Chicago Defender*, a weekly newspaper. In 1922 *The Crisis* averaged 62,417 copies a month, while the *Defender* is reported to have sold more than 150,000 copies an issue. The more aggressive attitude of negroes, as a consequence of the World War experience, naturally shows itself through the negro press.

The negro periodicals that were being published during the war period were undoubtedly patriotic. Since the war there has been a marked emphasis of race consciousness and certain publications have exploited negro race feeling and thereby increased their circulation. Intense loyalty to negro leadership is developing. We are told that almost every negro country school now has a picture of Booker T. Washington and a picture of Frederick Douglass on its walls.

Negro scholarship is turning out studies of negro biography and negro achievement. Even the building up of a tradition of African culture is having marked effect on racial consciousness. Of late the negro has shown a decided turning away from subserviency to the whites and a disinclination to imitate them. The demand for miscegenation comes from a radical minority who use this thing of straw as a test of their full social recognition. The great mass of negroes are indifferent to a discussion which has no personal meaning for them. What the race as a whole is demanding is the right to advance to a status of self-determination; and their protest

<sup>34</sup> Detweiler, *The Negro Press*, p. 3.

is against economic and political discrimination based on mere color. Their aggressiveness shows itself most especially in their insistence on what they consider their American rights.

The slave status had become, by the middle of the nineteenth century, an archaic relationship impossible to maintain; it was out of harmony with the spirit of modern life, and had there been no war it was doomed to pass. It has been followed by white tutelage, and now the negro wishes to escape from a guardianship which his advancement is making more and more intolerable.

It is the memory of the negro's slave status much more than racial traits or economic or social handicaps that makes it difficult for the white man to understand the present race consciousness of the black man. The negro is determined to free himself from the shadow of slavery; the white on the other hand is influenced in his thinking of the negro by his knowledge of the negro's slave experience. The collision of the two points of view has been expressed with unusual clearness by M. Ashby Jones, a Southerner.

"Few of us are given to anything like careful definitions, so that the average man in the South has never attempted to accurately state in words his thought of the Negro, but I am convinced that if this thought were accurately worded it would mean that the Negro was something less than human.

"This is not necessarily an unkindly attitude. I am thinking for the moment of the better classes of the South—those who are descendants of the slave-holders. As a class they have inherited a benevolent feeling toward the individual Negro while at the same time they have inherited a social and political fear of the race en masse. This type of Southerner would not say that the Negro is not a man, but his thought may be fairly interpreted by the statement that he is a slave kind of man. This kind of a man is only fitted to fulfill a social function of service within a limited sphere. To allow him to step outside of that sphere would be to render him inefficient and hurtful to society in general. This is my interpretation of the meaning



of the popular Southern phrase 'the Negro's place.' This is a sincere Southern creed, and many of our best people believe that the limitations which they place upon the life of the Negro are for the highest good of the Negro himself. Within these limitations, however, the individual Negro is treated with a kindliness and good-natured condescension which often tends to 'spoil him.' " <sup>35</sup>

The gulf between the two viewpoints can be bridged nevertheless by the whites' recognition of the reasonable race program of the same author:

"In searching for a pathway which will lead to a just, wholesome, and harmonious relation between the two races, it is essential that in the thought of the white people the Negro should be granted all the rights which pertain to human beings. If this is once granted, under our fundamental statement of democracy he has some 'inalienable rights.' We must not place any limitations which will deprive him of an equal chance to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' We need not stop to discuss the question of how much the Negro is capable of development. Be that possibility great or small, he has a right to a fair opportunity for the fullest and highest development of which he is capable. So to my mind our first task is to change the thought of our people in regard to the Negro, so that they may approach the question of his rights in the simple terms of humanity.

"It is from this standpoint that we should approach the question of the so-called 'social equality.' The meaning back of this Southern dogma which declares that there is to be no social equality between the races is that the integrity of the two races is to be preserved. To my mind this is a perfectly justifiable position and can be defended in the interest of the welfare of the Negro as well as the white race. For this reason the races should be separated by such social barriers as are necessary to preserve the purity of the blood of the two peoples. We should seek by every social provision to preserve the safety

<sup>35</sup> Jones, The Approach to the South's Race Question, *Journal of Social Forces*, Nov., 1922, p. 40.

of the home of the black as well as the white from any violation of this social edict. But no other barriers or discriminations are justified save those which are for the highest welfare of both races.”<sup>36</sup>

**Negro migration.**—Since 1914 a large number of southern-born negroes have moved north. We do not know at present accurately how many have left the South, but judging from the increase in negro population in Chicago, which has grown from less than fifty thousand to one hundred fifty thousand, and in New York from about sixty thousand to about two hundred thousand, the number of northward migrants has been considerable. The census of our city population appears to show that most of the southern cities have been growing whiter and most of the large northern cities blacker.<sup>37</sup> It is also clear that the negro is moving cityward just as the white is. This movement toward urban communities shows in the following table:

TABLE 40<sup>38</sup>

INCREASE IN NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NEGROES IN UNITED STATES IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

Decade	Increase *			
	Number		Per Cent	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1910-1920.....	870,244	-234,876	32.3	-3.3
1900-1910.....	683,257	310,512	34.0	4.5
1890-1900.....	524,830	820,488	35.4	13.6

\* A minus (—) sign indicates a decrease.

This cityward movement has been going on since the Civil War, but was stimulated by the demand for labor in the

<sup>36</sup> Jones, *The Approach to the South's Race Question*, *Journal of Social Forces*, Nov., 1922, p. 41.

<sup>37</sup> Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>38</sup> Negro Year Book, 1921-22, p. 391.

north during the World War. The industrial expansion during the war, coupled with the restriction of immigration, acted as a magnet to draw negroes from the South. Such conditions in the South as short cotton crops and a tendency in some places toward a concentration of land ownership, which has blocked the negro in his acquisition of agricultural land, also pushed him northward. Social unrest as well as economic motives have impelled negroes toward northern cities. There are differences of opinion among students of this social migration as to the importance of racial protest in this northward current. There is, however, general agreement that in a restricted class, the minority having superior education and culture, the movement is partly the result of resentment against racial discrimination.<sup>39</sup> There are likewise different interpretations as to the effect this movement of population is to have upon the South, the negro, and the North.<sup>40</sup> It is admitted that the negro's going from the South in any great number will constitute at least temporarily a serious industrial problem. It is also recognized that as the negro comes in large numbers to the northern cities there tends to be an increase of racial prejudice on the part of the whites, and in some proportion the same social discrimination that has been characteristic of the South. It is believed by some that the negro can not maintain himself under urban conditions in the North, and gradually his going from the land to which he has been physically adapted will mean his elimination as a race, however advantageous it may prove to the individual negro.<sup>41</sup>

There is every reason to suppose that the negro will strengthen his political position by his going in greater numbers to the North, and as a result of his industrial experience

<sup>39</sup> Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 98-99; Weatherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-91; Johnson, *The Negro Migration and Its Consequences*, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, p. 405.

<sup>40</sup> Pickens, Wm., *Migrating to Fuller Life*, *Forum*, Nov., 1924, pp. 600-607.

<sup>41</sup> Fortson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 599-600.

in northern cities his present consciousness of race will be augmented and made more intense. Happily it will soon be impossible to treat the negro problem as a sectional matter. It always has been a national problem and this will be recognized both north and south when there is a wider distribution of negroes, with daily contact between negroes and whites in all sections. It is a time, surely, for the dominant white to exercise both judgment and sympathy in dealing with a large racial group who are developing keen expression and are being forced into a racial consciousness by what they regard as intolerance and discrimination on a mere basis of color.

As Odum cogently puts it:

"It is critically important at this time that the strong and good leaders of the negro race, and the great mass of negro citizens as well, should be accorded such consideration at the hands of the strong and good leaders of the white race, and the great mass of sound-hearted white citizens as well, that they will follow, rather the constructive leadership of both races, than the destructive leadership of any group. We have already seen too many tragedies as a result of unwise and unsound leadership." <sup>42</sup>

**The negro and education.**—As in every other social problem, education occupies a central point in the program of racial adjustment. The uneducated negro may have been a good slave, but with the coming of emancipation, conditions were immediately changed. The distribution of education in all its forms, with especial emphasis upon industrial training for the majority of negroes at the present time, and with the clear recognition of the necessity of higher training for those who are to prove leaders of the negro people, has become imperative. Vexing social problems do not get solved by

<sup>42</sup> Odum, *Fundamental Principles Underlying Inter-Racial Coöperation*, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1923, p. 282.

theoretic formulas. The final adjustment of blacks and whites is clearly indicated. The progress the negro has already made must be acknowledged both north and south. The cultivated negro, indeed the average negro, must be treated on the basis of what he is without reference to his previous slave background or the apparent weaknesses of those negroes who can not rise above their low levels of social existence.

It will not be difficult for race prejudice to be stimulated in both blacks and whites by irresponsible and exploiting leadership. An increase of friction can only retard the normal adjustment of the two peoples in their racial relationships. Education in its wide sense, including moral discipline and every element that tends toward personal development and equipment for gaining a livelihood, will help to bring about a happier situation between whites and negroes. It is ignorance, undeveloped capacity, undisciplined passions and race hatreds, whether in blacks or whites, that are at the bottom of our so-called race problem.

The only influence that can combat such social menaces is education. The hope of progress centers in the school, and the mediator between negro aggression and white intolerance must be the teacher. That this is becoming generally recognized, especially in the South, is the most hopeful fact at this time of crisis in the relation of our negro and white population.



## CHAPTER XIII

### RURAL LIFE

**Wide interest in rural problems.**—Attention is attracted to the rural social problems of our time by the ever-increasing numbers of people who go from the country to the cities and towns to make their homes. The movement of people from country to city is going on all over the world at an amazing rate. It is more rapid in Europe than here; it occurs in Asia, China, and Japan. Even France, whose country population has been more stable and more contented than that of other nations, has recently experienced a great migration of country folk to the city; this movement is so noticeable that people in all parts of France are talking about it.

There are several reasons why the interest of city-dwellers attaches itself to the social problems of country life, once it has been caught by the exodus of rural people. The first is a purely sentimental reason: people born in the country like to talk about the country, think about the country and do something for the country. This is very irritating to country people, and for the most part such sentimental work is of no value. It is not strange that a person born in the country is interested in it, but his sentimental motive will not have much to do with solving rural problems.

2 Then there is the selfish urban attitude that directs the thoughts of city folk to the problems of the country. "We want food cheap" is the cry of this group, who are interested in rural problems because if there are not enough people raising corn for them in the country, they will suffer in the

city. Those who travel under this slogan in their efforts to help solve the problems of country dwellers are not prepared to make much headway, for their means of locomotion is too one-sided. The assurance of a constantly increasing food supply for the consumption of the evergrowing urban population, in the face of the steady dwindling of the population of the open country, represents a problem whose seriousness has been more keenly appreciated as our national resources of free land and virgin soil have been exhausted. Even the replacement of man-power in agriculture by machines does not offset the movement of men from the rural food-producing class into the city's food-consuming ranks. The farmer can not be expected to bestir himself greatly to coöperate in schemes that are supposedly for the betterment of his living conditions, but which he is shrewd enough to see are so planned as to give the lion's share of benefit to the out-of-the-country person. In all probability the inhabitants of the city will have to pay more for their food; at least the farmer must have more for what he raises.

A more socially wholesome reason for the widespread interest of urban people in country problems intimately concerns each one of us. There must always be a certain amount of flow back and forth between country and city. <sup>3</sup> The character of the one influences the other. City people go to the country in the summer. Country people become city dwellers, adding to the city the traits fostered by their rural environment. If they are wholesome people, the city is that much richer; if not, their coming brings to the city some of the problems of the country, and creates other, more involved problems, from the transplanting of rural life habits into city conditions.

Because of the give-and-take between people in different parts of such a country as ours, as well as by reason of the drift of country dweller cityward, efforts to ameliorate social conditions among our more congested population can not be

efficiently directed unless the functional problems of outlying social units are considered. Isolated groups of human beings, thinly scattered over large areas of land, can not provide for themselves educational or other social facilities comparable with those easily maintained in less sparsely populated regions. The larger, more densely composed groups of people, therefore, have been led to take an active interest in the problems of social organization inherent in the country life conditions that accompany the production of food supplies.

**What is the rural problem?**—The rural problem goes far deeper than the material phase of existence. It is true that limitations of economic resources and of opportunities for the interchange of ideas block efforts to build up the social organization needed in many districts of the open country, but greater prosperity and multiplication of contact are not in themselves enough to turn the balance toward an awakening of social consciousness that will improve local conditions. In community after community it has been noted that as farmers become well-to-do they leave the unsatisfying environment that failed to minister to their cravings in the days of their financial struggle, and move to the town or city, where they will find ready at hand a social situation that appeals to them. Since money, leisure, and communication are at a premium in country life, it is too much to expect that every rural community will succeed in working out, by the costly method of trial and error, a local social organization that will give its members the advantages of intellectual, recreational and political ability, without which no people can be content.

Because the country, in its hold upon its inhabitants, must compete with the relatively well-financed, highly organized life of the city, there is small room for complacency in reviewing the assets and liabilities of even the most socially efficient rural communities. Great as their accomplishment may be, these communities have constantly to face the danger

of losing the potential leaders of each oncoming generation, as the adventurous spirit of youth hears the call of the city, to which the socially-minded, dominant personalities eagerly respond.

**Social contribution of rural people.**—It is necessary for a well-balanced national life that there be both town dwellers and country folk in the nation. A great disadvantage ensues when the city people so dominate national thought and experience that the influence of the country is barely felt. The natural difference between city and country is commonly expressed in the statement that one is provincial and the other cosmopolitan. The provincial community is rather definite in its viewpoint, is largely stable, and understands itself quite well, while the cosmopolitan community is unstable, very liberal, but indifferent to the various parts of its population, and hardly knows itself at all because of its complexity and its variations.

A nation that is cosmopolitan at heart will have little unified life; it will be divided up in so many different interests and races and peoples, with such a number of contrasting attitudes that it will be little more than a geographical position like some of the Balkan states just now, where there are so many separate races and classes and religions that national life is only a vague abstraction. A cosmopolitan nation will be liberal and broadminded, no doubt, but it will be weak, lacking in patriotism, without substance.

Now a rural people, tied together by difficulty of transportation, will be narrow and bigoted, but intense in patriotism—like part of Central Russia, that exists by itself almost independent of the national government. They will seem to the outsider almost static.

Each represents an extreme. A strong nation combines the two tendencies, but the flowing back and forth of the population does away with both the weak thinness of cosmopolitanism and the narrow rigidity of provincialism. It is

probable that France has passed as successfully as she has through her recent ordeal by virtue of her stable rural population. She has still, to a high degree, people on the soil who love the soil and have been there for generations; the ministry in France may not be stable, but these rural people are, and the government dare not ignore them. France is neither entirely rural like sections of Finland and Russia, nor entirely industrialized like Belgium.

There is also a difference between the basis of ethics of the country and of the city. The rural population hold the individual basis of ethics, which means that everybody is responsible for himself to the whole community, and that the community passes judgment, sometimes carelessly, often brutally without understanding how to do it; but every country man is aware that his entire history is known and estimated by his neighbors, and that his family before him has been so estimated: so that his character is largely established for him by the time he comes into adult life. He is never allowed to forget the responsibility that society forces on the individual in the simple and primitive form of society. Under such a system it is easy to have social control. Men get their deserts in the immediate reactions of their neighbors to their conduct. Even though they sometimes try to outface this omnipresent watchfulness and ready criticism or to deny its strength, they are conscious of it. This is the basis of all ethics, without which a definite moral standard can nowhere be surely maintained.

The moment we pass to the city we find a different situation. Instead of having primary contacts, so that we know our neighbors, we have just the opposite. In the country everyone knows that a certain man has an unpainted or tumbledown house, or "Blank's Sarsaparilla" painted on his barn. In the city one does not know much about the people who live across the hall in the same building. Two families living on the same floor of an apartment house may not



recognize that they have any relationship; perhaps they do not even speak to each other. Direct contacts are few: indirect contacts through newspaper, store, lecture, are many. People do not meet together face to face and pass judgments. Under these circumstances it is very difficult to establish a universal system of ethics.

One can not make any decision about a man's character by knowing him only in his profession; he may have a very fine sense of professional ethics, but from the outsider's viewpoint he may violate all other standards. The man who will not cheat in anything else may not hesitate a moment to cheat in his business; "That is different," he says. Ethics in the city is sectional, specialized, and therefore can be maintained only where there is direct pressure. One does not know everybody, but one does know one's teacher friends, one's banker comrades, the people in one's social group; about their attitude one is very keen, but the rest of the people in the city do not count.

Both group and individual bases of ethics must be maintained by having wholesome country people and wholesome city people. If we had only rural ethics, they would be so harsh and unbending, city people would rebel: if we had, sweeping everywhere, the superficial, easy-going, flexible code of the city, we would be without any universal standard on which we could depend.

Another great difference between country and city lies in the conservative bias of country people as opposed to the radical slant of city people. There are individual exceptions, but the general line of interests accords with this distinction. One can see running through English history the enormous conservative attitude of the land-owning classes in the country. The same thing has been noticeable in France. Ordinarily, it has been true in the United States, though it does not hold in the west at present in politics. Naturally the rural man is conservative and the city man radical. Almost all radical

thought gets its birth in the city and then spreads out over the country.

The radical man as well as the conservative is in large measure the product of environmental influences. The man in the rural section has a very keen sense of the difficulties of life that the city man never gets under ordinary circumstances. That is because the rural man is engaged in the least satisfactory of all human efforts to control nature: he plants and cultivates, but his work has a speculative character due to the inability of science to manage completely the problem of cultivation; insects come, or sun or rain fails to come, blight or some other uncontrollable situation arises. The result is that although the farmer has done well all he could do, he finds himself defeated at the end of the contest. This tends to make him fatalistic; it also tends to make him conservative. Whenever anyone comes to him and says, "I know what you must have if you are to make everything the way you want it; what you need is socialism—woman suffrage—land tax, when you get that, everything will be all right"; the farmer politely listens; soon puts on his hat and coat and walks home, saying, "Another fool." He knows better than the glib talker because he has checked up his own ideals in the process of raising food, and he has found out something the city man does not know—that it is not possible for man always to have his purposes carried forth. The country man, therefore, is skeptical and conservative.

The city man does not often have anything to do with nature. He does not know nature at first hand. Once in a while there is an earthquake, a fire, a flood; death comes, and he realizes that man is not so all-important as he thought. But usually he does not have direct contact with nature; on the other hand, he has constant contact with man. The obstacle that defeats his purpose is man. If he wants to get on the street-car and there are too many on, he can not get on—men are in his way. If he wants a job and somebody

gets ahead of him, he sees that it is a man that has stolen from before his hand the chance to earn his bread. If he is in business, a competitor gets ahead of him and ruins his prospects. If somebody builds the wrong kind of structures in his neighborhood and ruins his real estate, again it is a man that has bothered him. The city man says, "If people would do as they should, everything would be all right; if only we could get a scheme to handle people, nothing else would matter"; but the country man says, "It makes no difference what people do; there is a risk in things that no law, no program, no crusade can fully overcome." Here is the fundamental difference between country and city thought.

Finding out that it is very easy indeed to handle people, change their ideas, operate on them by suggestion, the city man gets very simple notions as to how to solve his problems. The influence of person upon person is so potent that it is not difficult to have a group of persons believing one thing now, ten minutes later, the opposite; buying things they do not need, eating food they do not like and which is not good for them; going to see things they do not care about seeing or even dislike seeing. The city man gets an idea that people are the cause of all his trouble and that, since people are so easy to handle, it will not be very hard to hit upon some system that will solve everything. One man says the key solution is the land tax, another says it is socialism, a third says woman suffrage, and so on. The country man quietly smiles and says, "There is something in it, but not much."

A nation that is to stand foursquare to the winds of crowd-suggestion must have some people who are not lightly to be carried off their feet, but have a stubborn, critical attitude that makes them demand much proof before they will respond to any kind of program. This stationary disposition is advantageous when it is properly complemented by the mobile tendency of the city dweller. How fickle a nation would be if it had only urban minded men with too impetuous judg-

ment, who gather crowds by their oratory, get votes and go into office just because they have a ready tongue, a characteristic only slightly more useful in administrative work than a club foot would be. The gift of speech does not make it possible for a man to administer funds, for instance, in a big corporation. Yet the city rallies around the man who can talk.

**Present city drift.**—The swarming of country dwellers into the cities today is by no means an unprecedented phenomenon, as witnessed by the rural depopulation that perturbed Greek and Roman statesmen. The inauguration of the industrial era of machines, specialization and science brought with it an acceleration of the city drift of country folk, and introduced this accelerated movement into regions whose rural districts were far from the saturation point in regard to the number of tillers of the soil. In England, as in the United States, the shift of population from country to town or city has been noticeable for more than a century, steadily increasing in magnitude, until the census of 1921 showed 79.3 per cent of the total population of England and Wales to be urban, while the census of 1920 disclosed an urban population in the United States equaling 51.4 per cent of the total population.

Several factors cloud the reviewing of the population movement. We can tabulate the number of persons living in rural districts, and the number dwelling in towns and cities; but in trying to follow the migration of people from country to city, we may easily be misled to some extent. In the first place, the natural increase of a rural population would in the course of time result in the development of some rural communities into centers classifiable as urban, thus removing a large number of persons from the category of rural inhabitants and automatically putting them into the urban list, without their having made any geographical migration. To be sure, the majority of such persons would in time be obliged

to give over their earlier vocation of farming, as land values rose; but it is evident that these city "migrants" have not been driven out of the country by dissatisfaction with its conditions: they have just stayed where they were and accommodated themselves to changing circumstances.

The actual decline in population of rural districts in the eastern United States and Canada is somewhat mitigated by the fact that a number of these migrants go, not to the cities, but to more fertile lands in the newer portions of their own or foreign countries.

Immigration from the eastern hemisphere has done far more than rural growth or inter-rural drift to confuse the study of American farm life. When immigration was unrestricted, the startling growth of our seaboard cities was greatly affected by the arrival of hordes of people from other nations, the larger proportion of whom settled in our cities. Since these immigrants came chiefly from rural districts in the old world, their remaining in urban centers instead of seeking the open country when they came here augments the worldwide city drift of our time, but it is apt to give a disproportionate idea of the size of the movement within the United States from rural to urban environment.

Making all possible allowance for over-estimation of the rapidity with which population is being concentrated in our cities at the expense of the countryside, we can not escape the fact that a steady upward climb of urban as contrasted with rural population has for some time been going on in Sweden, Germany, France, England, Canada and the United States, while Belgium is already thoroughly urban. In the United States between 1890 and 1910 the rural population, including village inhabitants, did not even hold its own in the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

The northeastern part of the United States exclusive of

<sup>1</sup> Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, p. 130.



New England, holds more than half the urban population of this country. The per cent distribution of rural and urban population in the different census divisions appears in this table:

TABLE 41 <sup>2</sup>  
URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1920

DIVISIONS	PER CENT URBAN	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION	
		URBAN	RURAL
United States.....	51.4	100	100
New England.....	79.2	10.8	3.0
Middle Atlantic.....	74.9	30.7	10.9
East North Central.....	60.8	24.0	16.4
West North Central.....	37.7	8.7	15.2
South Atlantic.....	31.0	8.0	18.8
East South Central.....	22.4	3.7	13.4
West South Central.....	29.0	5.5	14.1
Mountain.....	36.4	2.2	4.1
Pacific.....	64.4	6.4	4.1

As the United States Census does not show the population trends of the open country as distinguished from rural including village communities, it is difficult to see clearly just what is happening in rural districts. In the state of Ohio an intensive study of the population movement of the open country in the period from 1870 to 1910 demonstrated that the tendency toward decrease in strictly rural population began soon after the Civil War: seven counties surmounted the crest of their rural population record in 1870; in the following decade the highest point in rural population growth was reached in forty-eight or more than half the number of counties in the state; during the next ten years rural decrease

<sup>2</sup> Reuter, Population Problems, p. 37, Lippincott.

began in eighteen counties; and from 1900 to 1910 only seven counties were still increasing in rural population.<sup>3</sup>

A survey of the rural population trends in Ohio from 1910 to 1920 establishes the fact that incorporated places of less than 2500 inhabitants have dropped from 9.5 per cent of the total state population in 1910 to 8.2 per cent in 1920, but that during this period the numerical population of this class of places has increased from 452,030 to 472,754 inhabitants; all other rural territory, comprising unincorporated villages and open country, has meanwhile declined both relatively and absolutely, falling from 34.6 per cent of the total population to 27.9 per cent and exhibiting in 1920 a population of 1,609,504 as compared with 1,649,948 in 1910, a loss of 2.4 per cent in actual population. Separating the population movement of unincorporated villages from that of the open country, it appears that the former have decreased relatively .4 per cent but increased absolutely 11.6 per cent, while the latter has decreased relatively 6.3 per cent and absolutely 5.2 per cent. This decline in the population of the open country, considered by itself, is the only absolute decrease in any class of places in Ohio between 1910 and 1920.<sup>4</sup>

City drift is the result of many causes and without doubt it will increase rather than decrease, in spite of all efforts to check it. We may as well accept the fact that the majority of people are not going to live in the country, with its corollary, that those who are willing to lead an agricultural life must have help in their problems.

There are important economic reasons for the movement away from farm life. Long and fluctuating hours of work, disregard of holidays, small pay, isolation of the worker during working hours as well as in his leisure, necessity of mastering many kinds of operations: these impel the rural

<sup>3</sup> Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Lively, Increases and Decreases in the Open Country Population of Ohio, 1910-20, *Journal of Farm Economics*, July, 1924, p. 248.

laborer and farmer to face toward the industrial life of town and city, with its promise of standard hours, short days, a weekly day and a half off, fixed state and national holidays, gregarious experiences while at work and also after the day's work is over, and easy skill resulting from specialization of work. The farm worker ordinarily does many different kinds of things according to the season and circumstances; even on a large western farm he has to cover more enterprises, such as buying, selling, transportation, management of men and machines, than does the average city man. Farm labor requires a higher degree of intelligence than do many forms of industry whose operatives in city or town draw a bigger weekly wage. In 1909 the average yearly wage, without board, for farm hands in the United States was \$329.16; the annual yearly wage of the operative in manufacturing industry was at that time \$554.<sup>5</sup> Farm proprietors, comprising nearly half the number of those engaged in general farming, have labor incomes that do not, as a rule, compare with the average salary of the administrative employee of the industrial system, although considerably higher than the incomes of the largest groups of male salaried professionals, clergymen and school teachers.<sup>6</sup>

The character as well as the number of migrants from the open country determines the effect of rural depopulation upon the living conditions of those remaining in agricultural regions. Farm laborers, tenants and proprietors who are lacking in physical stamina, mental ability or training for their occupation, as compared with their competitors, often move to urban centers where they can find work that is simple, repetitive and light, such as the continual performance of some one operation requiring little skill or strength, and seldom demanding the making of new adjustments, once its execution is mastered. Those country dwellers, also, whose

<sup>5</sup> Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

talents and disposition impel them to go where money can be made by manipulating people and ideas, naturally seek the city with its greater number of people and readier market for ideas, thus voluntarily freeing the country of many a dishonest horse-trader, unscrupulous storekeeper, and radical leader whose only interest lies in fomenting discontent regardless of the advantage accruing therefrom to anybody but himself. The shallow nature of some persons drives them from the rural environment, where each man must interpret for himself the phenomena about him, respond to subtle intellectual stimuli and create his own amusement or endure a dull routine, unrelieved by fun or frolic, unlightened by mental exploration, unredeemed by an appreciation of its significance or the beauty of its setting.

But along with some of the least desirable of its inhabitants the countryside loses many of its most alert, ambitious and energetic people, those who would be likely to become prosperous farmers, scientific in attitude and modern in viewpoint. Among those who feel most deeply the call of the gregarious life of the city are often to be found the potential or actual leaders of community life in the country. The young people commonly leave the country in great numbers, making it difficult for the few youthful ones left behind to gather together enough kindred spirits for the merry-makings they crave, and thus forcing out of the rural districts many who would gladly stay, were there not such a dearth of companions of their own age; this turning of the rising generation toward the city is perhaps necessary to a certain extent, if the country is not to become so densely populated as to lose its rural character, but unfortunately such a movement recognizes no wise stopping-point when it sweeps into its rhythm all who heed its call, regardless of whether they would be better off where they are.

It is inevitable that the city with its larger number of more varied openings leading to spectacular positions of power

and wealth should draw from the country a vast multitude of persons whose dreams of urban success are far removed from the reality of their experience, once they become city-dwellers. However, by the time they find out that fabulous importance and untold means are not for them, they have so fallen under the spell of the multiplicity of city stimulation that they are unwilling to consider going back to make their homes in the country. In reporting to their rural friends and relatives their progress in urban life, they minimize the hardships and discouragements they have met, and stress the attractions and comforts of city life, to cover up any suggestion of defeat in their life-plans. Thus the city advertises itself in that most potent way, by word-of-mouth communication from friend to friend.

**Gregariousness and rural people.**—The fundamental human desire for association with other human beings and the deep satisfaction accompanying a consciousness of like-mindedness are common to rural as to urban people. Country life, however, offers so much less opportunity than does city life for the gratification of gregarious cravings that those persons who are most responsive to herd stimulations naturally drift from the country to the city, thus centering in urban communities a great preponderance of intensely gregarious people, and leaving in rural districts chiefly those people in whom the gregarious urge is not excessive.

In this day of growing and multiplying cities, when an ever-increasing proportion of the inhabitants of the earth are but units in the vast crowds that live huddled together in such dense masses that each member of a herd must move when the rest move and as they move or run risk of being trampled under foot, the single-mindedness of the isolated country dweller is especially valuable to society. If the city man's viewpoint is almost identical with that of his fellow-citizen, his conclusions little more than the shadowing of the utterances of others, and his hopes and ambitions close copies



of the experiences and aims of his friends and leaders, the country man's characteristic position is that of an independent who stands apart, weighs and considers things for himself and passes his opinion on men and matters with scant regard for the judgment of his neighbors.

The gregariously inclined teacher, minister, and other community leader or worker with young people in the country naïvely arouses the dormant strength of gregarious appetite in the growing children and youths with whom he comes in contact: his own herd-directed mind makes him uneasy until he has awakened in those about him longings akin to the ones that fill his own thoughts; eager to end his novitiate in the country, that he may find a niche in some urban center, he pities what seems to him the emptiness of lives that do not recognize the superior claims of the city; and, rich in missionary zeal, he carefully drops a hint here, a suggestion there, paints the variety and extent of opportunity and experience to be found in the city, while he, himself, is an impressive example of the different attainments possible through city in contrast with country training.

**Communication and transportation.**—The life of the farmer in new countries has been hemmed in by meager avenues of transportation and communication, for either the size of his private holding or the poor condition of the roads, or both these factors, made it difficult for him to carry produce and messages from his home to outsiders, and to bring in from outlying neighbors or distant centers the news and products wanted by his family. Better roads, railroads, cheap newspapers, rural free delivery of mail, automobiles, the telephone, and now the radio, are making the farmer's isolation less tangible, though often accentuating its irksomeness by advertising and constantly affording glimpses of the comforts and pleasures attendant on the closer association of town or city dwellers. More freely flowing arteries of communication heighten the likelihood of the discontented country man's

hearing tales of city life that will make him long to move to the urban center; ease of transportation helps the urban-minded country person to exchange his old rural environment for the fascinating new urban one, with little difficulty.

The increased possibility of free interchange of ideas between farmers, and between practical farmers and trained agriculturists, results in the use of improved methods of farming, study of markets, and discussion leading to an understanding of allied problems. Greater contact between farmers' wives, and between farmers' wives and other homemakers, brings about a more efficient handling of housework, keener perception of the basic elements of good homes, and definite knowledge of the means to use to maintain healthy, happy families in attractive homes. The country woman who is confident that she is doing an important piece of work and doing it well, yet who has time and energy to spare to enjoy companionship and appreciate beauty, impresses her young children with the sense of satisfying values she finds in rural life: far different this from the overworked, cheerless drudge whose chief reward for a life of endless toil in barren surroundings seems to be a biting sense of inadequacy—reflected necessarily in the growing desire of her children for a different environment where success will bear a closer relation to efforts expended.

Young people are happier in the country when they can easily get in touch with each other to plan and carry out the recreation they crave, but even then they are often dissatisfied with the amount of social contact possible in country life during working hours and seek the city where they can work within sight and hearing of other persons from morning to night.

Good roads, railroads and motor trucks shorten the farmer's distance from markets and therefore heighten the possibility of his making a good living, with the consequent ability to buy comforts and conveniences, pay for needed

medical care, educate his children, and provide the means for recreation. Prosperity does not in itself make contented occupants of farms; it is often the arrival of comfortable circumstances that makes a country family feel that it has the wherewithal to make a start in a more complex environment, or that induces the middle-aged couple to retire from active work and move to the nearby village, after selling or renting their farm.

The consolidated school depends for its existence very largely on excellent transportation facilities, making it possible for children to be brought quickly to the central school building from the different hamlets and outlying farms. The arousing of public opinion that will support the inauguration of a consolidated school system in a region that still has the old district school régime is a matter dependent on intercommunication, for the sequestered hamlet is inclined to place loyalty to its local school above interest in "new-fangled schemes" like the centralization of schools for rural children.

What forward strides are to be taken by transportation and communication in the future can only be conjectured, but we do know that the country is continually making wider use of the inventions already freely utilized in the city. The telephone and the automobile penetrate year by year into more out-of-the-way places, and wherever they have gained a foothold they advertise themselves until they are thought of, not as luxuries for town-dwellers, but as necessities for rural folk. It has been suggested that a feasible plan may be worked out for spreading a network of narrow gauge railroads throughout rural districts, so that practically every farm will have its own station on a light railway, enabling farm produce to be expedited in its transit to market, outside products to be easily delivered on the farmer's own grounds, hired help to be brought daily to the farm from the village, where they could live comfortably with their families and work in factories in the winter, and the farmer, his wife and

children to go in to the village at will for recreation and sociability, or go to visit with other open-country dwellers regardless of winter storms, tired horses or the inadequacy of one automobile in meeting the demands of the different members of the family.<sup>7</sup>

**Rural coöperation.**—The family-sized farm is held by some authorities to be the most efficient unit for agricultural production: an acreage small enough to be worked by one man and his sons with occasional extra help turns out larger and better crops under personal management than when it is massed with many other small holdings to make one large farm, administered by a general overseer, and worked by hired laborers who have no interest in the size and quality of the output.<sup>8</sup> The difficulty of finding and holding together a dependable corps of workers for so seasonal a job as farming checks the growth of farmlands. In some cases laborers have struck for exorbitantly high wages at a critical point in the harvesting process, when the delay incident to rounding up a new lot of men would have meant a total loss of the crop. The great advantage of the large farm over the small one lies in its better buying, selling, and credit facilities; quantity buying is cheaper than the individual purchasing of small lots, the marketing of products by the carload is more profitable than by the small container or single creature, and the user of large amounts of money can borrow money more readily than the person whose transactions involve only small sums. To compete with the big farmer the small farmer has to join forces with other small farmers, and even at times subordinate the hope of immediate gains for himself to the more distant, but more permanent welfare of the group whose success he shares.

Coöperative enterprises have to combat so much that is

<sup>7</sup> Perry, *Common Transportation as a Basis for Communitization of Rural Districts*, *Proceedings Fourth Nat'l Country Life Conference*, pp. 49-63.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, *Co-operation and Community Spirit*, *Pub. Am'n Sociological Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 113-14.

born of backward-looking individualism, their chance of becoming successfully established depends on the urgency of the need felt by the farmers interested in pooling their resources. When prevailing conditions attendant on individual efforts are so unsatisfactory that any alternative looks promising, each farmer will endure minor inconveniences, spend time and thought on matters that do not directly concern him, and even forego certain temporary profits, in order that the coöperative undertaking in which he has engaged shall become a thriving actuality. Short-sightedness, slowness to change his habits, and suspicion of the disinterested effort of his neighbor hold back everyone from rushing into coöperative ventures; it is only when driven by economic or other adversity that people usually show any eagerness to coöperate. This is just as true of the farmer as of anyone else. Because his individualism is accentuated by the isolation of his environment, it is sometimes more true of the farmer than of anyone else. Accustomed to reap good harvests or bad by the sweat of his own brow, regardless of his neighbor's industry, and finding their quality conditional chiefly on the sequence of the weather and the absence of insect pests, he is not inclined by early experience to look to his fellowmen for a surety of good returns on his investment of labor. Seeing little of any men save the few who live near him, and knowing well their frailties, the farmer is naturally suspicious of the motives and ability of outsiders. Forced by untoward circumstances into a coöperative undertaking, the farmer shrewdly watches to see whether in the long run he is going to benefit from his new organization, and as soon as he is convinced of the value of working with other farmers for common objects he throws himself wholeheartedly into the aspirations of the group.

The increased financial returns afforded the individual farmer by his affiliation with a coöperative enterprise make it possible for him to raise his standard of living, and the



training he receives in the process of coöperating gives him skill that he is quick to turn to account in combining with the other members of his community in projects for better education, recreation, and the meeting of similar social problems.

**Rural child labor.**—The census of 1910 reports 71.9 per cent of the total number of children between ten and fifteen years classified as bread winners to be doing agricultural work; of these 1,431,254 rural child laborers, 260,195 were working on farms away from home. The 1920 census was taken in January, when agricultural work would be in its slackest season; hence, this comparison is made with the 1910 figures, which were gathered in April. From 1880 to 1910 the number of children working on farms increased at a prodigious rate, practically doubling in the period from 1880 to 1900 and rising about 50 per cent from 1900 to 1910.

Blanket laws limiting child labor have carefully excepted agricultural child labor, on the supposition that children who do farm work are receiving valuable training under wise parental guidance in an environment most conducive to good health and physical development. That rural child labor seriously interferes with school attendance is a fact that is now receiving keen attention. Of 259 rural school-children in West Virginia, whose records of attendance were looked up in April, 1921, and whose parents were asked the reason for their absences from school, it was found that 74 children seven to fourteen years old had been kept out of school an average of  $24\frac{7}{8}$  days to work, and 15 children fifteen to sixteen years of age had been kept out an average of  $74\frac{1}{3}$  days to work, since the beginning of the school year; as the minimum school term in this state is 130 days, the 74 children between the ages of seven and fourteen, whose parents kept them home to work on the farm, averaged a loss of 19 per cent of their school year, while the 15 children aged fifteen and sixteen, who had to stay away from school to

work averaged a loss of 57 per cent of the school year because their services were wanted on the farm.<sup>9</sup>

Kentucky, whose rural sections hold more than 73 per cent of her population, has over 631,000 rural children of school age; their average school attendance of 65 per cent rests on a number of factors, dearth of good schools, lack of transportation facilities and the farm work done by school children. The lowest attendance, 35 per cent, being in Calloway county in the western part of the state, and the highest attendance, 91 per cent, being in Elliot county in the mountains, it is evident that the difficulty of getting to and from school is not the crux of the matter. Many children are taken out of school to care for the hillside crops or help in the tobacco fields. The country child averages only about sixty days a year of school instruction; he is often a grade or two behind the urban child of his age. Nearly one-third of the rural children leave school at the fifth grade, and only one-third of one per cent finish the eighth grade. No laws prevent the farmer from working his children from 4 a.m. to 8 p.m. or force him to send them to school after they are twelve years old.<sup>10</sup>

Under the direction of investigators making a survey of child labor in North Dakota in 1922-1923, the teachers of 162 one-room schools and 18 graded schools, which exemplified conditions in the agricultural territory of six representative counties, kept monthly records of the specific reasons for the absence of their pupils: Of the 3860 children covered by this report, 1649, or 48 per cent, were kept out of school more or less to do farm work and other work at home; 41 per cent of all the boys ten or more years old and 17 per cent of the girls in this age group had stayed out of school 20 school days or more to work; of 730 children entering school late

<sup>9</sup> Armentrout, Child Labor on Farms, in *Rural Child Welfare*, by Nat'l Child Labor Com., p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Ridgeway, Books for Country Readers in Kentucky, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1923, p. 293.

in the fall because of farm or home work, 38 per cent missed one school month or more at the beginning of the fall term; 43.8 per cent of the children who left school before its close in the spring did so in order to work, and of these pupils who withdrew from school before the end of the spring term 59 per cent cut their school year short at this end by one month or more. The actual amount of school time lost by the children for farm or other home work was larger than for any other cause, though illness, bad weather and poor roads resulted in much absence. Two-fifths of the 2541 children aged eight to seventeen were retarded one or more years; boys were more retarded in their school work than girls, but the percentage of retardation for girls who did farm work was the same as for boys who did such work.<sup>11</sup>

A similar study of the welfare of children in cotton-growing areas of Texas reports that the average number of 'days' absence from school for farm work was 21 days for white children in 13 school districts in Hill County and 19 days for both white and negro children in 12 school districts in Rusk County, these studies being made in important cotton-growing counties, chosen because of their different agricultural and social conditions.<sup>12</sup>

The keeping of children out of school to work on the farm is particularly striking in view of the fact that the school year in these as in many rural districts has been shortened at both ends to allow the children to help their parents with the farm work. A child who loses a school month from a school year of only six or seven months is heavily handicapped in his possibility of keeping up to grade.

Our old notion that farm work builds up the health of young people has to give way in many instances before the facts as to the amount and kinds of work done by the children of farmers. More than one-third of the working children

<sup>11</sup> U. S. Dept of Labor, *Children's Bureau Publication No. 129*, pp. 34-35, 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 134*, p. 26.

studied in Rusk and Hill Counties in Texas reported having worked 12 hours or over per day, averaging  $11\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day in the busy seasons; an hour or two of this time was in many cases spent in doing housework or chores, the average number of hours per day spent in field work being  $10\frac{1}{2}$ . The median duration of field work throughout the year was about 3 months for white children, and 4 months for negro children, in Rusk County, and 4.2 months for white children, and almost 6 months for negro children, in Hill County.<sup>13</sup> In the North Dakota survey 590 children were questioned as to the number of months they had spent in field work during the preceding year: 207 children, or 35 per cent, had worked less than one month, but 131, or 22 per cent had worked four months or longer, either in an unbroken period during the summer or a few weeks at a time throughout the year.<sup>14</sup> Of the 845 children studied in North Dakota, 104 had been accidentally injured while doing farm work.<sup>15</sup>

At least one-sixth of the children studied in Texas had done plowing, harrowing or planting, and cultivating; this heavy work, involving the use of horses and machinery, is both difficult and dangerous for child laborers, yet the children reporting averaged one month's work in plowing, harrowing or planting. Plowing was one of the commonest kinds of work done by the North Dakota children surveyed; it continued for greater lengths of time than most other kinds of work, and caused more accidents than the operation of any other kind of farm implement. Nearly half the 845 children under seventeen years of age, working on farms, reported having plowed; 54 of these were girls. Most of the children had plowed with five or more horses. Many children had been thrown from plows, suffering more or less severe injuries. One-fourth of the children who had plowed

<sup>13</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication, No. 134*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 129*, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

were under twelve years of age, one was only seven years old, and four were eight years. Disking, spoken of by experts as even more dangerous than plowing, was engaged in by 25 per cent of the children, among these being 17 girls, and three children only eight years old; more than half the children doing this work were under fourteen. Harrowing, which was done by more than two-fifths of the children, 5.8 per cent of whom were under ten, 35 of the whole number being girls, is extremely unhealthful work, as the child is enveloped in a cloud of dust; about half the children doing this work had to walk, which is very fatiguing because of the softness of the loam tramped through; the repeated cleaning of the harrow involves heavy lifting. Cultivating is such hard work that only 17 per cent of the 263 children doing this work were under twelve years of age. Of the various operations connected with the handling of the grain and hay crops, few are entirely closed to children, although many are either dangerous or require the lifting of heavy loads, with great likelihood of serious physical injury resulting in permanent harm. Naturally, the handling of grain plays the largest part in the field work routine of the North Dakota children.<sup>16</sup>

Hoeing, chopping out the extra stalks of cotton in each hill, and picking cotton are the operations composing the bulk of the work done by the Texas children surveyed; while this is somewhat lighter work than that connected with North Dakota agriculture, it tends, for that very reason, to be done by younger children. Cases were found of three and four-year-old children picking cotton; 11.2 per cent of the white children under six years of age and 15.5 per cent of the negro children under six, and half of all the children between the ages of six and eight, who were surveyed in Hill and Rusk Counties, worked in the fields.<sup>17</sup> According to the measurement used by the United States Bureau of Education, 58

<sup>16</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 129*, pp. 8-19.

<sup>17</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 134*, pp. 8, 13.



per cent of all the white children studied in Hill County, 68 per cent of those in Rusk County, and in both counties a larger percentage of the negro children, with their more meager school opportunities, were retarded in their school progress.<sup>18</sup>

It is doubtless necessary that many farmers shall learn more efficient methods of farming, coöperate for mutual advancement in the ability to buy and sell profitably, and perhaps demand a higher price for their products, if they are to be able to support their families without the help of the children; but it is unmistakably true that prosperous farmers are in many cases unwilling to release their children from the bondage of hard labor "from sun to sun." Rural public opinion in regard to child labor is the outgrowth of pioneering conditions, which made it imperative for every member of the family to do his utmost in contributing to the maintenance of the household. Hired help is often practically impossible to obtain, there is more work to be done on a farm than one man can well accomplish, the income is small, unfilled wants are many, and the easiest way out is to put the children to work; this is especially tempting because the youngsters are eager and proud to be able to "do a man's work," and by the time they have lost their zest for long days of tiring labor, they have become too valuable a part of the farm enterprise to be lightly let off. The thriving farmer may be especially exacting in his demands on his children, since he drives himself harder than does his less successful neighbor, takes his work more seriously, and accepts a higher standard in its execution. In his study of child labor on farms in West Virginia, Armentrout reports that the chores and other light work done by children increase with the wealth of the farmer up to a certain point.<sup>19</sup>

Many country communities are strongly prejudiced against

<sup>18</sup> *Children's Bureau Publication No. 134*, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> National Child Labor Committee, "Rural Child Welfare," p. 71.

young people's being allowed free time "for divilment"; play and amusement are scarcely recognized as differing from idleness and mischief. The dearth of recreational activities is taken as meaning that recreation is out of the question for country folk, or even that there is no such thing as wholesome recreation, everything tending in that direction being looked at askance as frivolity with a tinge of wickedness. The farmer's enshrinement of work as the chief virtue, and his lack of experience in recreation make him feel that he is doing the safest thing when he brings up his children to work hard and long "as soon as they are the least mite big enough," and that he is running grave risk when he leaves them to their own devices.

The organization of clubs for country children by extension workers under the supervision of agricultural colleges is doing much constructive work in combating the excessive employment of children on the farms. This club work induces parents to let children engage in enterprises of their own, teaches children the principles of better farming and housekeeping, and reveals the possibilities of recreation.

**The rural church.**—Improved facilities of transportation have thrown together the interests of dwellers in the open country and changed the character of their needs until the neighborhood church has begun to merge itself in the community church, just as the district school is giving way to the consolidated school. Farmers whose lives no longer center in their immediate locality want a larger social interchange, better leadership, and more efficiently organized service than is possible in an institution supported by a small group of neighbors. To remove the rural church from the field of apprenticeship for young ministers who expect to graduate into a city parish, and from the position of asylum for superannuated ministers, it is necessary that the countryside shall combine forces with its village center, forget denominational shibboleths, and pay an adequate salary to one well-trained

man who shall minister to the whole community. Exclusive of parsonage or other perquisites, the salaries reported for ministers in the United States averaged \$663 in the year 1906.<sup>20</sup> Making allowance for the fact that ministers in towns and cities commonly receive a much larger salary than their country brethren, it is obvious that the salaries of country ministers must strike a very low average.

If a man is to do the work that needs to be done in a rural pastorate, he must be prepared to act as the country life leader of his flock, awakening in them a scientific interest in the processes that occupy their lives, rousing in them a desire for knowledge of the latest developments in agriculture, and directing them to the centers whose function it is to distribute this knowledge; he must have enough understanding of the problems of amentia and mental disease to recognize the need of getting expert assistance in dealing with baffling or flagrant cases of individual or social maladjustment; he must direct the provision of wholesome recreation and opportunities for sociability for old and young; he must encourage concerted effort for community well-being, discover material for leadership and turn its impetus into constructive channels, point the way and evoke the desire for educational advance, and help to raise the standard of home life; yet he must not give up his old position as spiritual inspirer of his flock. For such varied and difficult lines of work as must be undertaken by the religious leader of the country community, prolonged training must be added to native ability, and the man qualified to fill such a post can not be expected to make too great a financial sacrifice in order to continue in country work.

**Education in the country.**—Handicapped as country schools are by lack of equipment, low funds, and obstacles in the way of specialization of teachers, their task is one of the first magnitude. In addition to giving to their pupils the

<sup>20</sup> Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, p. 114.

ordinary tools of culture, rural schools have found it incumbent on them to teach appreciation of the values of country life, lest inadvertently they turn the attention of their most eager-minded youth too strongly toward the opportunities of city life, regardless of the individual's aptitude for the possibilities of country life. In so far as the country school is able to function, under its limitations of a short school year, backward-looking ideals among parents and school-board, and meagerness of supervision, it meets with little competition in its influence over the children in its care: unlike the efficiently maintained city school, that, in spite of all its advantages, plays but a small part in the life of its charges, the country school is the main interest of its members; the city urchin finds life more exciting on the street before and after school than within the schoolroom from nine to half-past three, but the country child has few experiences so stimulating as those occurring within the walls of the schoolhouse. Whether the atmosphere of the schoolroom and school grounds is good or bad, and whether the educational accomplishment of a particular country school is great or small, its impress is deep on the character-formation of its pupils; the lax teacher, who fails to establish wholesome social discipline in the school life of his pupils, is doing them lasting harm by allowing them to fall under the sway of their most irresponsible leaders, while the teacher who builds up the self-confidence and resourcefulness of a group of country children may raise their mental alertness to a pitch that will noticeably increase their ability.

The consolidated school permits rural children to get scholastic training that approaches that of urban children in its rank, but consolidated schools are making slow headway in the face of the blank wall of traditional loyalty to the ancestral district school, local difficulties of transportation, and the dread of a rise in the expense of the school system; and even the consolidated country school is seldom able to

pay its teachers salaries that are large enough to hold the most capable teachers for more than a year or two, or to provide adequate laboratory and library equipment for the use of its students. The solution may be in part through larger financial assistance from the state, and possibly by the extension of the giving of federal aid to include non-vocational subjects in secondary schools and all the work of the elementary grades.

Aside from their formal educational work for children, rural teachers have to be ready to detect cases of social maladjustment suggestive of conditions requiring institutional care, and to bring the outstanding "problem children" of their community to the attention of psychological experts. The more closely they keep in touch with the parents of their pupils, the better able are teachers to combat the last-generation attitude of conservative parents who bewail any departure from the methods and goals of their young days. Open country dwellers often find their chief intellectual interest in the school life of their children, and little that happens at school goes unnoticed at home; where news is scarce, the doings of a child at school acquire an importance unimagined by the town dweller. Here is a point of entry into the cultural life of the parents that is indeed strategic. Farmers who shut up like clams if approached with anything that looks to them like a scheme for their own improvement will display a lively curiosity in the same plan if they first learn of it casually from their children.

Education in the country can not be limited to the teaching of boys and girls in school, since a large proportion of the children of farmers do not even finish the eighth grade. Moreover, the continued advance being made in the scientific understanding of agriculture needs to be passed on at once to the men who are applying the principles of agriculture in their daily work. The United States Department of Agriculture, with the agricultural colleges, aided by state grants



and the support of the farmers concerned, has established a very practical system of extension work that brings the findings of the agricultural colleges to the attention of the farmers whose needs they meet. Home economics for the farm women and project work for children, covering the production and preservation of food and the making of clothing, are included in this extension work.

Local weekly newspapers are of great value to the groups of communities they serve, in strengthening community pride that leads to further accomplishment, and in preventing the interests of out-of-the-way communities from being centered too exclusively in their own affairs. Many country families that would not think of taking a daily newspaper subscribe to their local weekly as a matter of course, and are thereby saved from finding their chief human interest in neighborhood gossip. The willingness of these papers to print communications from their readers gives isolated people an opportunity to hold a well-attended forum by mail, for practically every inhabitant of a community will read carefully all that is written by the advocates of the different sides of every question presented. Weekly editions of town and city newspapers are quite commonly taken in the country by those who feel that they do not have time or money to spend on a daily, and the dailies themselves reach a vast number of country dwellers.

The library situation is beginning to be cared for in some parts of the open country. Traveling book wagons that make regular trips from central town libraries to outlying hamlets and single farms are in the charge of extension librarians who carry out a promising diversity of books, help the people visited in the making of their selections, discover what sort of books to bring next time, and then come again and again, collecting the books that have been read and bringing new ones, until a demand for a branch library at the neighborhood or community center ensures the using of such books

as may be sent out from the mother library from time to time.

Education is constantly becoming more accessible and more practical for country dwellers, as for town dwellers, but in the nature of things education in the country lags behind education in the city, because the smaller number of people to be served in a given rural area than in the same amount of territory in the city makes the per capita cost of education greater.

## CHAPTER XIV

### PUBLIC OPINION

**Meaning of public opinion.**—As soon as any group of individuals begin to mingle together there comes about by processes of suggestion and imitation what we call public opinion. By public opinion is meant the convictions that are held by most if not all of the group and that are felt by each person to have behind them the approval of the group. If the individual acts in harmony with these group ideas or sentiments he has a sense of oneness with the group, but let him set himself against the common opinion and immediately in one way or another he is made to realize that he is under marked disfavor even to the point of being ostracized.

Public opinion has no existence apart from the individual minds that hold it, but this in no degree takes away its social force. Each individual acts toward public opinion as if it were something above the individuals who produce it, a sort of personified group judge.

Public opinion from the character of its origin is not consistent. Even the so-called moral sense of the community may be neither moral nor intelligent. Public opinion in whatever way it happens to take shape is the product of the influence of the more active members of the group who impress their personal beliefs upon the acquiescent, passive individuals. Public opinion is open to quick and radical changes. It includes without difficulty beliefs and attitudes that can not logically be harmonized. One thing today, another tomorrow, public opinion is always erratic and untrustworthy. By its

changes and inconsistency it never loses any of its hold upon those who follow it. So long as they keep in step with it, whatever they do seems right.

**Social influence of public opinion.**—By watching children at play anyone can discover the social significance of public opinion. Although not formulated in any conscious expression such as rules and the like, the general opinion of the group controls the playing, establishing ideas as to what is fair and what is not.

No one realizes better than the teacher how impossible it is to get on successfully with children if the group sympathies and opinions are ignored. Even if the pupils of a school seem to respond to the demands put upon them by authority, their inner hostility toward what they do is so great that the effort to force their obedience soon wears out the instructor and at the same time hampers the accomplishment of the children. It is this power of group opinion that requires of the efficient teacher the winning of the good will of those taught as the first step in profitable instruction.

There is little difference between children and adults so far as their reaction to public opinion is concerned. In the society of men and women we have a more complex and a more formidable type of public opinion. We also have conscious and deliberate efforts to manufacture and control public opinion. These organized attempts to influence the group are always at work but they are especially prominent and effective at times of great crisis such as war. In modern life the power of mass suggestion shows itself constantly. Any emotional experience like war affords a perfect opportunity for the manipulation of social suggestion, and at the same time tends to destroy the critical judgment of the individual, never very strong, so that suggestion is easily handled by those who have possession of the machinery for the making of public opinion at the time when the mass is most impressionable. Under such circumstances public opinion is so lack-

ing in rational elements that it is almost entirely an expression of the feelings, and altogether unworthy of the great power it has over the men and women who are in its clutches.

In the legal aspects of social behavior, we especially detect the influence of public opinion. Legislation is exceedingly sensitive to public opinion, generally following after the thought of those who represent leadership. At times by its effort to keep in step with this influential opinion, which is frequently far in advance of the thinking of the mass, legislation is followed by such successful efforts to persuade the general public, through education and propaganda, of the advantages of the law that the reform measure is quickly made a part of general public opinion.

In recent years there has been great danger of laws being passed to meet the opinions of small but well-organized groups of our citizens by law-makers who knew that their acts were contrary to the general public opinion and who were unwilling to make any practical effort to give the new legislation a fair chance of winning public opinion. As a result laws are made with the certainty that they cannot be enforced. Real progress as distinguished from a fictitious appearance of advance can only come through legislation that either has behind it a genuine and effective public opinion or an educational program that can justify it to well-meaning citizens.

Public opinion is the real force that operates upon modern governments. Public opinion, more than constitutions or even traditions, keeps political powers from being despotic. With the growth of democracy and popular government more and more people have come to contribute to public opinion so that those who influence governments are no longer small classes. It is of course still possible, as is obvious to anyone acquainted with practical politics, to distort public opinion and exploit the general public through the skillful control by a class or group of the processes of education or propaganda, but now at least effort must be made to enlist the great mass. Once



it was only a small minority, except in extraordinary circumstances, that had any way of expressing its desires and getting them incorporated in public opinion. It is this extending of the public opinion to include all classes that measures the real progress that has been made in self-government. It is the fickleness and emotional character of this wide public opinion that is at present the most risky and discouraging element in modern political life.

Public opinion cannot exist without the presence of what Giddings has so happily called "consciousness of kind." There must be some recognition of common interests, a degree of social sympathy and unity. For example, play cannot go on at all if a body of children meet on a common playground but have no common experiences, standards or desires. Instead of a public opinion holding down the self-seeking desires of the children, each does as he pleases unless prevented by force, and in a small way we get a perfect picture of anarchy. As a matter of fact in such a case the disorderly mass of children soon group themselves according to their antipathies and likings, and within each small group at once appears a semblance of public opinion.

Public opinion is never one clear, outstanding, consistent oracle. It is a vast collection of opinions knotted together but not harmonious or logical. Each person, for example, has associations that are grouped along lines of class interests, religious belief, political alignment, secret orders, race, and social organizations of various kinds, each relationship bringing the individual into contact with a specialized form of public opinion from which he receives social suggestions and to which he contributes his share of influence by the mere fact of his membership and sympathies.

**Suggestion and public opinion.**—It is easy to exaggerate the rationality of public opinion. Although it is in part the product of deliberate discussion, and thus contains the result of individual thinking, public opinion tends to be less rational

on the whole than the make-up of the different people who share it. This comes about by means of the enormous influence of suggestion. Public opinion in its constant changing is forever feeling the effect of suggestions that pass through the group. These suggestions most often spread downward from people who, because of their position, carry prestige and are therefore looked up to by the others.

Suggestion is an indirect appeal which steals in upon a person and influences him without his realizing the source from which it comes. It is a comparatively mechanical process. While some people are much more open to suggestion than others, no normal person is entirely free from sensitiveness to the thought and feeling of the groups in which he experiences contact, if not fellowship. Normal human nature is always ready to respond to suggestion. Thus it becomes easy for opinion to move uncritically from person to person, and particularly from those who have places of prominence or who are in possession of effective machinery for the influencing of the general public. Thought travels by processes of suggestion, but feeling is most contagious.

A great part of public opinion is thus rooted in the emotions and is a result of the suggestion of feeling. The judgments that are expressed and are thought of as defining the public opinion are often little more than rationalizing efforts to protect desires born of the emotions. Just as an individual follows his wishes and tries to satisfy himself with plausible reasons for the things he does, so likewise acts the group in its expressions of public opinion.

The social environment in which an individual finds himself is constantly exercising pressure through public opinion. Much of this pressure is so concealed from the person who is feeling its force that it is actually suggestion. It comes from the attitudes of the class to which he belongs, and gives a bias which he can never fully overcome; it also comes from the national environment which, from birth to death, is for-

ever pressing itself upon the individual by processes of suggestion. In any sizable country, especially one with such diversified interests as ours, the sectional environment counts considerably, since it also exercises suggestion. We are particularly sensitive to the opinions of our immediate associates, and they help us to construct what becomes for us an element of public opinion.

Since the home gets the individual first and has him when he is most open to suggestion, it stamps upon him impressions that wear through life.

Thus, public opinion can be thought of in the wide sense of representing the general thinking of the mass, or it can be thought of as the general thinking of separate groups within the mass. Every individual finds himself recognizing several public opinions, produced by the different groups to which he belongs, and sees that these opinions to some extent clash. They would clash oftener than they do, were it not for the skillful way in which he places these opinions in separate compartments, using each one as far as he can in its own division, without regard to the fact that he is acting now and again in accordance with opinions that work at cross purposes. It is only when he finds himself in an environment which has attitudes and judgments unlike what he is accustomed to, that he has to make conscious decisions as to which group opinions he accepts and which he rejects.

Underneath the suggestion that is constantly impelling us to some set public opinion is the gregarious urge. Without insisting upon a gregarious instinct, a matter which psychologists are still debating, we can safely stress the gregarious behavior of man, which leads him to desire as far as possible to be in good standing with his fellows. No one questions gregariousness, for it is strikingly expressed in animal life as well as in human experience. Gregariousness, as it shows itself at present in highly civilized society, particularly tends to emphasize conformity in feeling and thought. If man

responded only to its influence, psychic uniformity would be as certain among men as herd conduct in a flock of sheep. It is our response to this gregarious craving that tends to make us so open to suggestion and so unhappy when we find ourselves frowned upon by the group with which we want to be on good terms.

Here is the opportunity for the wielding of influence by those who have the power to direct the means of suggestion. Of all the organizations that have this power, none have it to such an extent as governments; and the critical attitude of democratic people toward government is born of what might well be called an instinct of self-preservation.

Despotism climbs into the seat of power by the use of suggestion that gives to it an effective control of public opinion. It can not afford a minority protest because it can not permit any scrutiny of its process of group control. It succeeds only if it steals the thinking of the mass by stamping out through force the minority who are dangerous because they are untouched by mass suggestion and can therefore think straight in forming their judgments of public policy. Despotism and exploitation always fear freedom of speech.

**Propaganda.**—The process of using suggestion on a large scale in order to influence public opinion artificially is known as propaganda. Of all processes of suggestion it is the most subtle; it permeates the general public by the use of indirect methods, thus hiding its purposes and usually concealing those who are manipulating it.

Propaganda is in contrast to ordinary advertising in the concealment of its purposes. To be sure there are kinds of advertising that can properly be designated as propaganda. Corporations, for example, may advertise on a large scale, not to influence their market, which may even be beyond their immediate capacity to supply; but because they wish, by keeping their name before the reading public, to create a favorable attitude toward them. Sometimes, also, by means

of their advertising they hope to influence the attitude of magazines or newspapers.

Ordinary advertising is frank and outspoken. Even though it skillfully exploits human cravings, there is no doubt in the mind of the reader as to what it is attempting to do.

Propaganda has been called capitalized prejudice. It works by rooting itself in fundamental instincts and the beliefs that have been given an individual by the influence of his psychic environment. It stirs up no emotion of hostility to its appeal through suggestion, and insinuates what it might not dare frankly assert.

Propaganda that is put forth to protect conservative teaching builds up a solid wall of feeling against which new ideas strike without making any dent in the thinking of those who have become captives of the propaganda. On the other hand, the same sort of mechanism is used to push forward new ideas. This type of propaganda creates skepticism with reference to the old values and judgments that the new ideas would supplant.

The action of propaganda is inherently tricky; it always tries to worm its way into public opinion by a subterranean entrance through feeling. It is this which makes propaganda so dangerous, particularly in a democratic state where public opinion can be tyrannical with little to check its operations.

Propaganda is often made effective by the use of slogans: these pithy sayings sum up the idea made use of in the suggestion; they are taken into the mind of the hearer or reader because of their clever appeal; they stir up no criticism and are therefore accepted without dispute; they sometimes seem solid with deep meaning; their simplicity appears forceful argument. Seeming to remind one of something that nobody would presume to question, slogans trap one before one is aware that any attempt is being made to influence one. The catchword that on the surface appears so reasonable and sane, and that is glibly repeated, may contain deep-lying sug-



gestions of sinister character. Professor William Sumner has said this forcefully:

"If you allow a political catchword to go on and grow, you will awaken some day to find it standing over you, the arbiter of your destiny, against which you are powerless, as men are powerless against delusions."<sup>1</sup>

Propaganda must never be confused with educational persuasion. Propaganda is a rapid coercion. Even when it is exercised for things that are wholesome, it tries to bring about its results by unworthy processes. It lacks confidence in the slower but more abiding persuasions that are based on an increase in intelligence and a better understanding. Propaganda is opposed to the methods of education because they require open discussion and win their success by argument and demonstration. Propaganda resembles hypnotism. Quick results can be obtained by using hypnotic suggestion, but not without endangering the welfare of the patient. Propaganda cares nothing about the effect it has upon the believer so long as it immediately succeeds. Its determination to get results at any cost, by its skillful suggestions, is its most pernicious feature.

The results of propaganda are effervescent; and as a method of social influence it is most untrustworthy. It has all the weaknesses that belong to suggestions that stress feeling and undermine judgment and reasoning. It is often followed by an intense reaction so costly to the purposes for which the propaganda worked that all its first effects are wiped out. This is not always true, however, as some assume. Propaganda can be so successful as completely to debauch a population and hide the truth until it is revealed years after by the historian when the whole movement has become a dead issue.

<sup>1</sup> Lumley, *Slogans as a Means of Social Control*, *Publications, American Sociological Society*, Vol. 16, p. 131.

**Newspapers and public opinion.**—Nothing is more characteristic of our present life than the newspaper. The average citizen, at least in cities and suburban places, would no more go without his morning paper than his breakfast; indeed, to be deprived of the second would be less irksome to him than to be cheated of the first. Those of us who daily ride to the city in a long train full of people, who sleep and house themselves in the suburb and spend the day in the city, see each morning the cars packed with men and women, all reading the morning paper. Country people read their papers later in the day, but more thoroughly.

Although a comparatively modern thing, the newspaper has become an indispensable element in our civilization. One author has suggested that it would be safer to live in a community without government and with a newspaper than to have the government and no newspaper. As a creator of public opinion the newspaper has no rival, though it more often echoes public opinion. It transmits general attitudes of thought and feeling so that they are vociferous.

Each paper also has its special clientele to which it appeals and whose ideas it tries to broadcast. In this fashion the newspaper acts much like the face to face conversation of the rural community. There is this difference, however: in the small community ideas spread slowly by individual contacts, whereas what the newspaper presents is received simultaneously by a great mass of readers, most of whom react in the same way to what they have read. The power of the press rests upon the same native curiosity, interest in people and happenings of the world of affairs, that gives basis for the gossip and discussion of people who live in isolated communities. It is folly, therefore, to tirade against the influence of the newspaper, since one would then be attacking human nature itself.

The newspaper needs psychiatric supervision and a policy of self-restraint in its use of gruesome details especially with

reference to crimes that are pathological in origin and naturally have a great quantity of suggestion for morbid and unbalanced readers. Papers, in their policy toward crime, often mistake a minority public opinion for a general social demand.

Popular education has a duty to perform in giving papers with high ethical standards a chance of survival. Suggestion is so tyrannous and so ever-present in urban culture that the child of our schools who has no warning of it, no practical understanding as to what it is, how it works and how it can be manipulated, goes out into life with his training itself inviting exploitation. The uninformed not only are easily preyed upon but also encourage the existence of enterprises that spread suggestions as a contagion. Newspapers certainly suggest. They also inform and through suggestion block exploitation. To balance these influences is a delicate task. It would at least be a relief to most newspapers to have a public more stable and discriminating and more willing to support a policy that reduces suggestion to the lowest terms compatible with human interest and faithful portrayal of characteristic modern life.

It is easy to bring an indictment against the newspaper from a social viewpoint; it emphasizes all the social faults of its period and is usually representative of the habits and interests of its readers; it sometimes creates and oftener perpetuates wrong attitudes that tend to block advancing civilization.

Yet the power of the press is usually enlisted in movements that push forward a reluctant people who would otherwise stand still; it is the medium through which progressive thought is scattered about: in other words, the press is largely on the side of progress and, for the most part, is as forward-looking as its readers are willing to tolerate.

Anyone who judges the public press must keep in mind that it is a business working for profit and that it must

estimate its success by its ability to sell its product to those who read. The commercial interest of the paper can never be set aside; and, however depressing its appeal seems to the person enlisted in efforts for social welfare, on the whole, public opinion is protected by the financial interests of the press.

The advantage that comes from having the paper a commercial enterprise rather than a government organization or a subsidized institution stands out clearly when one thinks of propaganda. Nothing that the paper does is so dangerous to social welfare as its crusading in its attempts at propaganda. Its financial interests are too sensitive to the need of winning and holding the general support of the public, for the paper to embark upon the uncertainties of an active propaganda at the request of some special class. Its propaganda at its worst is likely to be only a mirroring of the prejudices of the general public opinion, slightly better or somewhat worse according to the standards of the individual paper.

Nobody can understand the dangers that come from the influence of the newspaper in the forming of public opinion unless he realizes the importance of the recent changes in the newspaper business. There was a time not long ago when an enterprising individual could start a newspaper on very small capital. In those days journalism represented a business that obtained its profits from the sale of papers. By their successful appeal to the reading public, newspapers increased the number of their readers. The growing cost of getting out a newspaper, especially the ever increasing price of the paper used, makes the modern newspaper business dependent on large capital. This comes about because the great cost of issuing the paper can be met only by a quantity of profitable advertising, and the advertiser is wary of taking space in any paper that has not had a large circulation for a considerable length of time. Not only is it next to impos-

sible for a newspaper to start without great capital behind it; there is also an ever-increasing tendency toward consolidation of papers so that in spite of our large population in our greatest cities we have fewer papers published than a decade ago.

When the newspaper reader had a larger choice, the editorial policy of a newspaper was outstanding. With fewer papers, the reader has a smaller choice, while the editorial policy is overshadowed by the business management. The newspaper backed by large financial resources, with a huge, expensive plant and a host of special writers and few competitors, does not find it difficult to maintain an enormous circulation without much editorial distinction.

Thus the business side of the newspaper enterprise grows larger and larger and naturally influences editorial policy. It is charged by those who have had practical experience with newspapers that even the selection of news is sometimes colored by the business management's desire to keep the good will of advertisers.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the influence of business management upon the editorial policy of the papers, there can be no doubt. It is the natural consequence of the present situation in the publishing of newspapers.

Although the advertisers' point of view enters public opinion in this indirect way through the newspaper medium, of course, a considerable class of the more intelligent readers of newspapers bring to their reading skepticism and discrimination, and escape undue influence from what may be the business policy of the newspaper as it appears in print; but the great body of readers take the paper seriously, and its influence goes a long way in making public opinion for them.

**The sensational newspaper.**—It is common for the student of social problems to indict the newspaper for its news material, particularly the yellow journal. In fairness to the

<sup>2</sup> Gruening, Can Journalism be a Profession, *Century*, Sept., 1924.



press it must be remembered that the yellow journal did not make its readers; it found them. It is unjust to hold the press altogether responsible for what it portrays, even though it stresses the seamy side of social life. If the paper is sensational it is well to remember that the reader's taste is, also, and that the paper is as much the creation of a type of reader characteristic of our present social situation as the reader is a product of the sensational paper.

It is said that the sensational type of paper gets a new body of readers every six years. Park tells us that these papers get their readers largely from immigrants who are graduated from the reading of American papers printed in their own tongue. In time they move away from the sensationalism to a sober type of paper. The faults of this kind of journalism are obviously on the surface, but their social service in disseminating public opinion among their chosen class of readers has been an indispensable task, and probably no other effort has been so successful in its Americanizing of the foreigner.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, to do full justice to the sensational newspaper one must face squarely the psychology that is behind it. There are two types of readers, we are told: those who find life pleasant and like to read about their own class, and the pleasures and interests with which they are familiar; and those, unfortunately numerous in these days, who do not find life so pleasant and who get a sense of relief from the drab color of ordinary living by reading of the doings of those who lead a different sort of life. For discontented people, the sensational newspaper offers a flight from reality. There is more than one way of obtaining this relief, but nothing rivals the yellow press in its cheapness and effectiveness, and those who decry it overmuch may well ponder the question, What would have happened in these recent years if such an

<sup>3</sup> Park, *The Natural History of the Newspaper*, *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov., 1923, pp. 285-86.

inexpensive and appealing way of forgetting one's own hard life by satisfying human nature's curiosity had been blocked? The yellow press from this viewpoint has performed a very difficult social therapeutic mission and has been a guardian against class isolation and antipathy.

The great evil of the public press is not its sensationalism. Human experience is essentially dramatic. It is our lack of a scientific attitude toward human conduct that creates the morbidity which likes to be shocked by the portrayal of the dark things of modern civilization. It is when the press takes over the deliberate influencing of public opinion that it needs most to be circumspect. It is easy for the press to drug thought or exaggerate nationalism or tradition until the orderly moving on of society becomes difficult. Sensationalism can not hurt unless there is a flaw in the reader, but propaganda can steal into the most well-meaning and well-disciplined individual if it gradually percolates through the printed page of what he reads as a trustworthy, impersonal news service.

Society can not protect itself by any restricting of the press. The only thing that can save from newspaper exploitation is a free press, which will permit any newspaper to spring up as an antidote to propaganda when the press shows signs of slavishly surrendering to those who wish to manipulate its influence for what they erroneously consider public welfare.

No headway can be made against the faults of the present newspaper by censorship. Censorship in its nature is opposed to free public opinion and in its operation it soon becomes powerful and irresponsible propaganda. It is questionable whether even in war time the present policy of political governments of censoring the news is not a mistake in efficiency. It always leads to deep-seated distrust, which passes from individual to individual by underground channels, the facts often being exaggerated in the process. For instance,

we know that disasters on the battle fields of France, whether admitted or not in the censored news despatches, leaked rapidly out into the populations that had most at stake, until the knowledge of a disaster reached to the remotest hamlet. Under such conditions, when press reports are received skeptically by a host of readers, rumors easily gain headway and public opinion becomes hysterical. In any case censorship can only be justified as a temporary necessity for national welfare. As a persistent policy it forbids the formation of any reliable public opinion.

Newspapers must be held to a strict accountability, nevertheless, for their power to invoke injury on individuals. Difficult as it is to provide protection for the individual, while giving freedom to the press, it is imperative that the courts accomplish this task. Unless present laws regarding libel are more satisfactorily adjusted to the greater power of the press, new legislation is bound to come, which may carry with it control that will smack of censorship. Newspaper ethics may be expected to do something to make the press more careful of the rights of those who can be made to suffer by newspaper misstatement or exaggeration. It is the papers of low standards that use their power most recklessly, and such papers will always resist high ethical standards. It is the policy of such papers that prompts the increasing desire for legislation that will curb the power of the press.

**Press agents.**—In any discussion of the newspaper, the significance of the press agent must be kept in mind. The press agent is a paid attorney in the field of publicity. He is a skillful advocate who prepares material which will have news value and at the same time will influence the reading public favorably toward his employer. The following statement from Mr. Frank Cobb of the New York *World* illustrates to what a size the business of the press agent has grown.

“Shortly before the war the newspapers of New York took a census of the press agents who were regularly employed and

regularly accredited and found that there were about twelve hundred of them. How many there are now (1919) I do not pretend to know, but what I do know is that many of the direct channels to news have been closed and the information for the public is first filtered through publicity agents. The great corporations have them, the banks have them, the railroads have them, all the organizations of business and of social and political activity have them, and they are media through which news comes. Even statesmen have them."<sup>4</sup>

It is easy for the newspapers to get information colored by the press agents, but it is sometimes next to impossible to get it in any other way. It is therefore not surprising that a considerable amount of printed matter furnished by paid expert propagandists is biased and untrustworthy.

**Science and public opinion.**—Science has a distinct obligation to contribute to rational public opinion. It is fortunate that science must make this contribution, for the sake of its own welfare. The scientist who cares not what people think regarding his work soon finds that his policy of indifference brings about consequences he did not expect. Not understanding his work, the public may possibly become hostile and by legislation or merely by the crystallizing of social prejudice may limit him in his freedom. Fortunately there are evidences that scientists are clearly recognizing this fact. Never before has there been so great an effort to popularize science. Even the scientific vocabulary has been pushed aside at times in order to make matters of common interest in the realm of science understood by the average citizen.

It is to science that we must look primarily for whole-some public opinion. Public opinion is constantly catering to the emotional reactions. The antidote is science. Science replaces feeling with investigation. It ceases to be true science when it dogmatizes. In the past, unscientific organized influences have attempted to use their power to coerce public

<sup>4</sup> Cobb, Address before the Women's City Club of New York, Dec. 11, 1919. Reprinted *New Republic*, Dec. 31, 1919, p. 44.

opinion and bring uniformity of thought and behavior. Thus far, as Professor Franklin Giddings clearly shows in his "Studies of the Theory of Society," science has made no use of the "police power" to coerce public opinion. It is this that makes science the most trustworthy means of constructing safe public opinion.

Just as the material sciences have discovered ways of controlling physical forces for man's welfare, it has now become the task of social science to engineer human welfare. Science is always forward-looking in its viewpoint and ready to test its progress as it goes forward. A period that emphasizes physical science as ours does must inevitably bring an increasing respect for science in the realm of human relations. Social science profits somewhat from the overflow of popular confidence in the might of the physical sciences. It must increasingly assume the task of freeing public opinion from its elements of prejudice and exploitation. What Professor William Sumner has called the mores, or what is generally known as the customs of a people, must approach a scientific basis or social well-being will continue to suffer the consequences of ignorance and deceit in the realm of human behavior.

Concerning our social habits we have the same need of knowing facts that we have with reference to matters that concern our material well-being. In the realm of conduct, emotion has thus far been able to keep science out. Instead of investigating with a calm, unbiased mind problems of human relationship, we have continued in the social realm the superstitious attitude, the blundering hit-or-miss practices that once the primitive savage, destitute of science, expressed in all his behavior. The result was inevitable. As science has made greater headway in its physical conquests man in his social life has been increasingly punished for his childish substitution of fancy for fact.

**Education and public opinion.**—If science contributes substance for wholesome public opinion, education is the trans-



mitting process. It is the qualities that the schools stress in their instruction that appear in public opinion. Education that emphasizes submission to tradition prepares for a static, backward-looking public opinion. The former educational system of China is a perfect example of the use of instruction for the building up of a stereotyped public opinion. Democratic and progressive civilization must look to the schools to provide in the growing child the critical and discriminating attitude that protects from undue suggestibility or stubborn conservatism. When it encourages independent thinking on the part of the pupil, instruction can build up a bulwark against suggestion and organized propaganda. Mere parrot-like learning of facts does little to establish the right sort of public opinion. If we are to have social sanity it will be because the schools are able to send out into life a considerable proportion of graduates eager to know the facts about every matter of public concern, and willing to hold back their emotions, that they may see things straight.

The success of the school in turning out open-minded graduates, prepared to do their part in pushing public opinion to higher levels, is largely a question of what material it presents and the reaction it obtains. The use of history, for example, can be made such as to thwart any spirit of adaptability so that the school actually sends out year after year a body of graduates who will act as a check upon the efforts of the public-minded minority who are working for new but advantageous social adjustments. Even science can be used to manufacture dogmatism and narrowness of sympathy.

If any group is to maintain the basis of what Giddings calls "social adequacy," it must have an education that not only conserves the values of the past, but discloses the possibilities of the future. Conserving the values of the past is an easier task than preparing for the future, and education sometimes takes the line of least resistance. This is one of the reasons why society clumsily goes forward by the trial

and error method, obtaining a small portion of the social satisfaction which its present resources prophesy.

Our universities and colleges need especially to stress more the things that may be, and less the things that have been. Public opinion never stands still, but its onward moving has less direction by the educated classes than society has a right to expect. What can be accomplished when the institutions of higher learning keep in the foreground future possibilities is seen clearly in the rapid advancement of medical science. Here especially the momentum of institutional influence turned toward the future runs strong; as a result the well trained medical student, within his own science, is characterized by an open-mindedness and expectancy of new things that are remarkably different from what once was. Medical science, therefore, goes forward with leaps and bounds. What has become so characteristic of medical instruction should appear in all branches of higher education.

This is the promise of a superior public opinion. Progress at this point is cumulative. As general thinking grows more sane it stimulates the more progressive instruction, which contributes still more to rationalized opinion. Depressed as the world has recently been by the shocking discovery of the flimsiness of international good will, the great war has tended to create undue pessimism. Education was never so forward-looking or so anxious to discover the realities, and here we find the promise for a future better than the past.

If the schools have the best equipment for the transmission of a discriminating attitude toward public questions, the home has no inconsiderable share of responsibility for the home has the first chance to direct the child's attitudes and can, if it has the skill and desire, stimulate judgment in the pre-school child. It also can avoid any extraordinary use of group pressure. The mother that forces her boy to carry out a line of conduct by appealing to his desire to be like others is strangling any native tendency in the child to think things out for himself.

## CHAPTER XV

### SOCIAL UNREST

**Our social unrest.**—No one who places his finger on the pulsations of present-day social experiences questions the existence of widespread social unrest. We are living in an age socially as discontented and feverishly restless as the world has known. The discontent is not, however, a hidden dissatisfaction, far under the surface and known only by the few gifted in genius for penetrating into contemporary conditions. Our social discontent is self-conscious, boastful and even blatant. It is also omnipresent and from it we can not escape. It has entered into the remote countryside and brought under its spell even the least sensitive of farm "help." It has captured the house servant and brought chaos to individualistic housekeeping and crowded our hotels with those who would escape the responsibilities of homekeeping. Contrary to the opinion of some, it is not class movement, for it cuts across classes and is found among the wealthy just as it is among the poor. It is not in any sense national, for it has swept the entire temperate zone like a rapid-moving fire.

**The meaning of social unrest.**—If we ask whether this unrest is justified by the conditions of social life we are at once plunged into violent controversy. Alfred Russel Wal-lace, co-discoverer of evolution with Charles Darwin, denounced our social régime in these bitter words: "It is not too much to say that our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom, and the Social Environment as a whole,

in relation to our possibilities and our claims, is the worst that the world has ever seen.”<sup>1</sup> Even if we attempt to discount this indictment as a product of old age, we have to admit in fairness that it was the logical culmination of opinions held in earlier life by one of the world’s greatest scientists. Representative of the group that maintain that social and ethical progress is surely being made is this recent declaration by Professor Lewis, of the University of California: “Notwithstanding the lamentations of many that this is a degenerate age, when faced with the facts every one must admit that during the past thirty years there has been an immense improvement in the ethical standards of society. The political spell-binder has lost his grip; politics have in some measure been purified; official corruption has diminished; the standards of efficiency of our public officials have been raised; for the first time in our history the application of ethical principles to business affairs has made a little headway; we are beginning to question the perfection of our legal procedure; a new sense of civic responsibility and of our duty to our fellow men has been created, and we are acquiring new and higher ideals of patriotism and of international relations.”<sup>2</sup>

It is obviously difficult to compare our present social restlessness with that of preceding periods. It is clear, however, that in our time such restlessness as people feel is openly and easily expressed. Society abounds in mediums by means of which discontent can find voice; the newspaper, literature, forum, lecture platform and especially organization provide opportunity for agitation and propaganda. Discontent certainly was never before so freely made known, and this publicity tends to multiply it, for discontent is in part a product of suggestion.

Although widespread social unrest constitutes a social

<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *Social Environment and Social Progress*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, *Ethical Value of Science*, *The Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1918.

1 problem for any period the discontent must not be interpreted  
as inherently evil. It represents a challenge to the social  
conditions which called it forth, but it may be due to the  
2 advancing intelligence which has become intolerant of the  
slow progress of social standards and practices. On the other  
hand social unrest may spring from a nervously unstable  
leadership and may represent an easy escape for a multitude  
who are unwilling to accept the social consequences of their  
inefficient habits or lack of industry or ambition. Whatever  
the cause of social unrest it necessarily involves risk since  
it represents a social force that can easily be turned into mere  
destruction.

**Science and social unrest.**—Science can not escape responsibility for our present social unrest. This is the era of science. Were we unable to discover this fact for ourselves we at least would come to believe it from the constant and proud affirmations of the scientist. We are told that science has recreated the world within a brief century. The facts are so apparent that the person least interested in science has to admit them. At every point human experience has been changed by the contribution of science and invention. Traditions have been broken. Customs have been destroyed and are being destroyed. Social habits have been modified. New motives have followed from the new conditions created by science; former motives have grown faint and are passing. Already science has accomplished beyond the dreams of human fancies of an earlier period. And the end is not yet. Indeed, science never promised more than now and was never advancing with more rapidity.

3 If the scientist has made our era, he surely must also accept responsibility for our characteristic unrest. It may be that the world has indeed been recreated, but it has not yet been brought to a condition of safety. The scientist in the past has given scant consideration to the social problems created by his splendid success in mechanical and industrial



development. Human nature, as the late war has taught us, has changed little since the time of primitive man, and during the last century with its wonderful advancement of science there has not been equal progress in human discipline or intelligence. The things that men handle have been multiplied and magnified, while man himself has lagged behind, altogether too confident that the results of material progress would in themselves bring social satisfaction and sanity.

**Material progress not social progress.**—Material advancement provides means for social progress; it is not itself progress. The means must not be confused with the end. The production of great quantities of material resources establishes a basis for higher standards and more efficient social adjustment but it does not by itself issue in greater social well-being.

When the industrial revolution began to reveal the menacing changes it brought about among the factory workers it was pleasantly assumed by those financially interested in factory development that merely by cheapening the process of making things all classes would be socially enriched. That was a foolish assumption. To hold it now is stupid stubbornness of mind. There are some who by heroic effort still cling to it, fearing that nothing else can give a substantial basis for the idea of progress. It is, however, growing more and more difficult for any one to believe that social security will necessarily follow from the contributions of science that enrich the material resources. This unpalatable but enormously significant fact can only be held out of consciousness by those persons who are willing to cloud social truths if for a season they may protect their intellectual comfort from such disquieting disenchantment as would follow the admission that unrest has become the dominant social phenomenon in this age of scientific prosperity. It is becoming increasingly difficult, however, for any one to shut his eyes to the premonitory fact that stands out so clearly.

A multitude of men and women are by no means socially content in this era of science; they are profoundly dissatisfied and their souls are seething with restlessness. The solid fact can not be pushed aside by refusal to recognize it.

**The social task of science.**—From a social point of view science has not been as successful as the average scientist imagines. Science means more than a mere collecting of information. It is not simply a classifying in a systematic way of all the trustworthy facts known at the time. It is especially an attitude of mind and one that human nature acquires with painful difficulty. It originates, to be sure, from a universal instinct of curiosity, but the finished product contains an element of personal indifference which is foreign to the unmodified instinct. Science is the highest form of that reality thinking of which the psychoanalysts make so much, and stands in sharpest contrast with their definition of the easy-going pleasure-form of thought. It is the most heroic effort the human mind can make to get rid of all personal inclination and bias in meeting an intellectual problem in order that the truth of any matter may be as accurately known as is possible. It is in its success in putting aside personal desire that scientific thinking distinguishes itself and wins the right of intellectual supremacy. Huxley has most happily expressed this spirit of self-renunciation on the part of the scientist when he faces any investigation.

“Science seems to me to teach in the highest and strongest manner the great truth which is embodied in the Christian conception of active surrender to the will of God. Sit down before fact as a little child, be prepared to give up any preconceived notion, follow humbly wherein and to whatever abysses nature leads or you shall learn nothing.”

Unscientific thinking is under no such coercive discipline, but may, if it pleases, follow hard after personal desire even though at the end it be ditched from having neglected fact for fancy.

Science has, by its superior attitude of mind, accomplished marvels and obtained a spectacular success. It has not, however, given the great mass of people any appreciation of its highest function. Science has been valued by the majority of people for its accomplishments, not for its portrayal of the advantages of stern discipline in mental experience. It has merely encouraged a vast multitude to believe that human existence is a never-ending pleasure hunt and science the best giver of material comforts and luxuries. The craving for personal gratification has been stimulated by the magic-like productions of science until an appetite has been created that nothing can satisfy. Social well-being has needed the teaching of science more than its products. The philosophy of the street admires science for its liberality in things; it turns with indifference from any attempt to popularize the self-restraining spirit of science. The scientist is welcomed as a good workman; he is ignored as a teacher. As Professor Giddings has so well said:

“Science makes its way with the multitude, not because the multitude is capable of understanding it, or even of greatly caring about it, but chiefly because the multitude sees that science does things. It safeguards the crops. It prevents or controls epidemics. It cuts down freight rates, and it transmits thought through pathless wastes of firmament and sea.”<sup>3</sup>

From such a situation social sanity can not be expected. Science increases the power and freedom of men; it fails, or thus far has failed, to prepare them for the proper use of their increasing opportunities. The race with its more than a hundred thousand years of stern discipline and struggle is hardly ready for the present enormous quantity of pleasures and the life-motives that are constructed in pleasure-terms. The social problem has come to be merely making life easier for a greater number of people and by some process permitting material pleasures to be equally shared.

<sup>3</sup> Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, p. 184, Macmillan.

Even if we assume that this program states the goal of all social endeavor it by no means follows that its working out is a simple matter. The problem of method still remains and here, if ever, there is need of patient scientific investigation and experimentation. Social experience ought by this time to have taught men how complicated the details of any such program must be and how foolish it is to attempt a quick and *à priori* solution. Why is it, one may well ask, that the popular thought is so intolerant of giving to science the problem of finding a more just distribution of material wealth? The world-wide drift of population toward the cities is part explanation of the confident social philosophy that can not endure the thought of giving even so delicate and hazardous a problem over to "cold-minded" science.

Urban life does not tend to teach men caution in the working out of social programs, for it is difficult in the city to have that first-hand contact with nature, which, more than any other human experience, provides the basis for moral discipline and curbs the arrogant and unreasonable demands of men and women. The city, by hiding the natural obstacles that always hamper the accomplishment of man's purposes and by turning the attention to the competition one person has with another, encourages the belief that the difficulty of obtaining one's complete happiness is due to the interferences of other people. The constant experiences of rural people with the menace of frosts, blights, insect pests and droughts impress upon them the elemental fact that nature itself is often in opposition to the purposes of men. Rural philosophy becomes naturally suspicious of any get-rich-quick social scheme.

City conditions provide the perfect opportunity for the gregarious leader, who wins his power by skill in directing urban discontent and industrial restlessness. He is by temperament unsympathetic toward the cautious experimental methods of science. Indeed he could not hold his following

by a judicial attitude toward social grievances, for they join him not for his accomplishments, but for his ability to voice in catching phrases their inarticulate discontent. Everything in the city conspires to turn this dissatisfaction into economic form. The conflict of classes, the apparent omnipotence of money to furnish the conditions of health, social standing and happiness to the well-to-do of the city and to deny them to the poor, the constant pressure of economic competition, these influences and many others of similar character all tend to magnify the value of money and to conceal the ever-present checks upon human purposes that nature will present under any form of social régime. The urban problem of life boils down to the getting of sufficient money to satisfy one's desires and it becomes the conviction of a multitude that their satisfactions can be increased only by placing limitations upon other people whose desires collide with their own.

Since the modern city is the creation of science, science must assume responsibility for the intense gregarious appeal the city is now making throughout the civilized world. No person, however great his indifference toward science, ever visits our greatest city without appreciating how science makes possible modern New York. The very existence of the city is conditioned by the inventions that face the visitor on every hand. Were any of the more important contributions science has made to the city's welfare to be removed or made inactive, in an hour's time the city would change from a place of business and amusement to a horrible death trap from which men, women and children would flee as from the clutches of a devouring monster.

**Teaching function of science.**—It is folly to regard our present social crisis as simply a succession of disputes regarding wages, commodity prices and hours of labor. It is not merely based upon dissatisfaction with our present capitalistic system. In the present temper of the people no change, whether it be in industrial organization or wealth-



distribution, can bring cessation of social restlessness. Science has created an appetite that no governmental or industrial régime can satisfy.

The situation in which the world finds itself, which the World War hastened but did not cause, reduces in its lowest terms to the impossibility of a people socially unscientific living a satisfactory life in a scientific era. The safe way out, the path that is likely to be chosen after painful social experiences in any case, sooner or later, is through the popularizing of the spirit of science. The task is not impossible, for any social attitude can be taught by a vigorous, determined leadership.

For the most part in the past science has been indifferent to its teaching function. Many of its leaders have been aristocratic in their conception of science and have looked askance at their colleagues who have had a mild desire to bring to the average person a taste of the sweet fruits of the scientific mind. Especially has the scientist cared little whether science was taught in the public schools or whether it was so taught as to give the developing pupil a glimmering of the methods by which science wins its conquests. College teachers of science have not infrequently dismissed the problem of high school science with the comment that they always have found that pupils who have had no science in the high school are the best prepared for college courses in science, refusing to accept the testimony of the students respecting the value of their preparatory courses. The vocabulary of the scientist and his manner of writing and speaking has in general been unnecessarily esoteric and he has been proud of the self-imposed limitation that has given him a class consciousness.

On the other hand, the scientist has been subservient to the ambition of commerce and never-ending effort has been made to popularize the demands for the products of science. By means of human ingenuity, by advertising propaganda of tremendous economic cost, the appetite for things has been

stimulated and the concept built up that the happiness of man does consist in the abundance of the things he possesses.

Society desperately needs a democratic science. In very recent years, especially in medicine, there has been a most encouraging movement toward the socializing of science and the acceptance on the part of the scientist of his obligation as a public teacher. Medical science deserves the greatest appreciation for this splendid service carried on often against the self-interests of individual members of the profession. It is, however, not the results of science that the people need so much as its spirit of rational discipline.

The promise of social progress is in science teaching men and women with the same success that now it feeds, houses and gives them playthings.

**Pathological restlessness.**—A part of our present restlessness is pathological in character. It is based upon nervous instability. A large part of present-day radicalism, whether it expresses itself in economic agitation or denouncement of the conventions of our social life, is due to personal maladjustment. The radical is seldom happy. He considers himself badly treated. He wants changes because he hopes in some way to find the happiness which he so sadly lacks. He is not often willing to recognize that his chief problem is with himself, that he can adjust himself only to fictitious, fanciful and distant circumstances. If he were thrown into a society such as he desires he would quickly find himself disillusioned and as unhappy as ever, for in whatever society or social order he might go he would have to drag himself along, and the result would be that he would soon be worse than ever because disappointment would be added to his original grievances.

Many radicals are suffering from what the scientist calls *inferiority complex*. They are particularly upset by any subordination they have to endure; they can not bear the thought of being second to anyone, and at the same time they

lack the courage to meet their associates in free competition. If in order to earn a living they are forced to submit themselves to the necessary discipline of some business organization, they chafe inwardly and avoid facing their own chronic feeling of inferiority by taking their spite out on the social régime represented by the business which assigns them to a position of subordination.

It is a human impulse to try to reform others when one is dissatisfied with oneself. The radical is our best example of the attempt to get rid of unhappiness by agitating social changes. It is in his personal life that the radical is most restless and as a rule his discontent is chiefly tied up with his family situation. In some way he has failed in his own home life. Sometimes it is childhood experience that is at fault: often overbearing parents crushed out the childish attempts at self-expression, or the child may have been marred by the opposite policy, father and mother were so unreasonably indulgent that when the child began to feel the pinching limitations of ordinary competitive life he at once rebelled. Perhaps the trouble that has pushed its victim into radicalism has to do with more recent family difficulty. The most common causes of deep unhappiness connected with family life in the adult period are: not having any family at all, or being unhappily married.

In any case social reformation becomes an antidote for the pressing vexations of the family situation. It is much easier and very much pleasanter to fix the attention upon far away social schemes than to meet the real difficulty face to face and try to solve an actual problem. Down at the bottom of their own life those persons who are on the way to becoming radicals feel a void which nothing fills. They run away from their uncomfortable circumstances by becoming interested in an imaginary outside life which stands in contrast with their personal experience.

Having found the road that could lead them to the solu-

tion of their problem, they travel half way and then lose courage. They do not hopelessly shut themselves within the narrow confines of their own daydreams; neither do they go out bravely to tussle with reality. They get out of themselves, but they fall into an imaginary world in which they can atone for their dissatisfactions by attacking the things that are and imagining whatever pleases them, however impractical. They agitate to forget their own troubles.

Radicalism thus becomes an abortive effort at personal adjustment. The radical who fails in dealing with his own personal problem never fails with the more difficult and complex social problem: he is never wrong because he is never tested; he revels in his fancies, free from all the checkmates that come to the person who tries to meet real situations.

A milder type of radical is one who reacts merely against early poverty or family disgrace. Not having been hit so hard by the experiences of his childhood, he feels less bitterness of inferiority. He carries into life, however, no matter how successful he becomes, a grudge; and enjoys fighting people and things that remind him of his early social handicap.

It is evident that nothing takes the vim out of the radical so quickly as happy marriage and satisfying parenthood. It is no wonder that radicalism usually attacks most fiercely the family, for the family is its greatest destroyer. Wholesome family life brings the agitator who plays freely and irresponsibly with the creations of his own imagery back to the concrete test of dealing with actual facts. In this way the family teaches practicability and soon the radical attitude is swept aside by the development of a sense of responsibility.

**Pathological conservatism.**—If personal inability to adjust oneself to the actual conditions of life leads some people to radicalism it is equally true that this same failure to meet successfully the tests of environment turns others to conservatism. Far away from each other as radicalism and conservatism are, they often spring from the very same defect.

They each may represent an unwillingness to face life squarely and cope with its difficulties.

The pathological conservative is struggling with the effort to escape fear and to find an authority upon which he can lean. The new seems dangerous because of a personal unfitness to deal with novel and unexpected circumstances. Whatever has been seems safe and promising, however unadjusted to the immediate present it may have become. These conservatives frequently find themselves in trouble or danger because they get in a position where they try to block progress and are sooner or later pushed aside. They have been clearly defined as people who believe that "nothing should ever be done for the first time." Constantly under the spell of inner fear they are always ready to join with those who for selfish or sentimental reasons attempt to hold in check some tendency toward more wholesome social life.

The morbidly conservative personality is especially keen upon establishing some new don't or protecting one that has been demonstrated by neutral social experiment as lacking justification. The folly of this negative attitude toward life is well described by Professor Stewart Paton in the following words: "Numerous lives are wrecked by such inhibitions interfering with the constructive, creative forms of mental activity that are necessary to healthy, sane growth, and stability. Doing something reasonable or commendable is much more to be desired than mere passivity in *not* committing an error or crime. A large and unfortunate growing class of psycho-neurotics are obsessed with a desire to placard the world with 'don't's.' Many lives may be made profitable and happy, not so much by supplying new or different forms of stimulation as by removing such wrongly timed inhibitions. The sublime faith we have in the efficacy of inhibitions is one of the greatest dangers to our civilization. We hope to save and be saved by 'don'ts.' This is both an unfortunate and dangerous attitude of mind, by reason of its destructive



effect upon the organization of the personality through the increase of the difficulties for original and creative thinking implied in 'doing.' ”<sup>4</sup>

The pathological conservative must not be confounded with the milder type who becomes conservative by merely growing old. However, even the ordinary conservatism is rather more a product of disposition and training than of years.

“At what age does the individual begin to stand pat? When does a man lose the ability to get a new idea, to change convictions or a point of view? At any age. Some, indeed, never get a new idea. They imitate in thought the prevailing modes of the social group to which they happen to belong, or to which they aspire. Fifteen, however, is an age at which a great number, perhaps the majority of those who do at least a little thinking of their own, harden into conventional patterns of thought and behavior. Others keep changing and growing intellectually up to thirty, some even up to forty-five, while just a few display to the very end that intellectual pliability which is intelligence informed by acquired knowledge.”<sup>5</sup>

**Restlessness due to inhibition.**—The conservative adds to social unrest whenever he saddles upon humanity an unreasonable or socially useless inhibition. The present unrest is due in part, as almost anyone will admit, to a bad adjustment of stimulation and inhibition. Social conditions often stimulate what social control, expressed in one of its various forms, prohibits. The near-sighted conservative often stresses only the prohibitions. A sane social order will attempt to reduce the suggestions that lead to unwholesome conditions rather than merely to try to check the final issuing forth of impulses freely stimulated.

Some of our unrest is certainly due to a situation which Stanley Hall has described thus:

<sup>4</sup> Paton, *Signs of Sanity*, pp. 198–99, Scribners.

<sup>5</sup> Witmer, L., *What is Intelligence and Who Has It? The Scientific Monthly*, July, 1922, p. 65.

"No decade in history ever began to witness such momentous changes as those which have occurred since 1914. These changes have been political, economic, cultural and even hygienic, and have been practically world wide. Is there any one dominant trend among all these complex tendencies which have ushered us so suddenly into the new world—for such it is—upon which we look out today? I have long pondered this question, and, as a lifelong student of the deeper currents that control mankind, have found an answer that seems to me most satisfying, *viz.*, the fundamental impulse that has caused nearly all the troubles of recent years is the growing instinct of revolt against external constraints and control. It is more than kurophobia, or the Freudian resentment against all fatherly authority, and even more than social inhibitions; these are, at most, only its negative manifestations; it is, at root, a new impulse toward spontaneity, self-expression and self-determination, or to live again from within outward." <sup>6</sup>

Human nature never found extended coercion so difficult to accept. The wise way, therefore, to provide the control without which social life becomes intolerable for all is to increase the influences that work together to produce self-discipline. Decreasing harmful social stimulations is a much safer program than merely to attempt the checking of unintelligent or vicious impulses.

This program of safety through a lessening of tension applies particularly to our industrial situation. It is in its denial of self-expression for the worker that machine production has contributed so much to our present social discontent. The task now facing modern industry is two-fold. It must continue to produce and distribute cheaply that human wants may be satisfied; it must also give back to the worker the self-expression and pride of workmanship that disappeared with the coming of the factory era. Until it meets the second obligation, in spite of its discharge of the first, discontent will increase among the producers.

<sup>6</sup> Hall, Stanley, Can the Masses Rule the World, *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1924, p. 456.

**Education and social unrest.**—A social obligation which rests upon American education is the building into the public mind of an adequate knowledge of the fundamental social and human problem. The chief objective of educational effort is better men and women, people of wiser minds, greater vitality and sanity, more adequately prepared for the ordeals of life. It is a stupid social philosophy that considers any other problem the chief problem. More wealth with no larger men and women to enjoy it will add greater troubles to those we now have. More leisure with no stronger character on the part of those who try to use it will extend moral deterioration until existence itself will be threatened. Any heroic social effort to equalize the desirable conditions of life by forceful legislation which is not reinforced by an increase in general intelligence and a greater degree of self-control will end in undermining our present social justice and progress without providing any workable substitutes.

The philosophy that all men and women need for social well-being is more things and more time for their enjoyment, the theory of the fat belly, has already shaken civilization and given thinking people fair warning that human nature can not be made socially sane by mere prosperity even if it is distributed so that no man has more than his neighbor.

Every contact that science makes with living things discloses the falseness of that easy-going interpretation of human need which sees in it only one thing necessary—a greater amount of wealth for a greater number of people. Every unbiased experience with natural law teaches the scientists that human welfare demands struggle, that any effort to recreate the universe so as to abolish the recognition of natural inequalities among human beings will prove futile and sooner or later disastrous. In other words, the one hopeful objective for social striving is the moral discipline of human nature.

Those who seek to further the welfare of society will emphasize growth in general intelligence as the means of

moral discipline. This increase of general intelligence must especially emphasize the importance of the law of cause and effect. There can be no doubt that profound changes in social and perhaps political conditions are at hand, and no one with any degree of thoughtfulness expects social life to remain as it is. We need to rid ourselves of whatever we have socially outgrown and can safely replace by what is socially more just and desirable, but we can not safely ignore the key position occupied by general intelligence in this process of change. There are those among us who expect to make advance by appealing to class passion so as to create by revolution an ideal society. They forget the enormously significant meaning of the statement of Goldwin Smith's, "Let us never glorify revolution."<sup>7</sup> Such persons foolishly regard the selfishness of some men as the only thing hampering others. If the scientist gets any insight from his life calling he, of all men, is best prepared to insist that the evolution which passes slowly, as a result of increasing general knowledge, from things that are to things as they may be is the only substantial social progress.

The scientist, however, is failing still to do his part in stimulating this growth of social knowledge at one important point. He is not influencing public education to the degree that he must in the future if progress is to be made. As a result, the public school does not yet in any satisfactory measure build into public opinion through early instruction that tremendous concept of causal law which is the intellectual guardian of social progress. Our social security demands more influence from science in our schools and more respect for science on the part of those who inform our public mind.

<sup>7</sup> White, *Autobiography*, Vol. 2, p. 572.

## DISCUSSIONS AND REPORTS

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

#### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Do Adults Forget Their Own Difficulties of Social Adjustment?
2. What Social Conditions in Your Community Tend to Make Difficult the Social Adjustment of Boys? Of Girls?
3. What Are Some of the Psychological Causes of Delinquency?
4. Are Boys More Delinquent than Girls? Why?
5. How Can One Discover and Treat Anti-Social Grudge in a Delinquent?
6. How Does the Movie Show at Times Stimulate Delinquency?
7. What are the Mental Conflicts Most Often Found Among Troublesome School Children?
8. What Causes Produce the Too Great Strictness of Parents in Dealing with Children?
9. How Do Newspapers Stimulate Delinquency?
10. What Are the Characteristics of the Juvenile Court?
11. How Does Education Tend to Decrease Illegitimacy?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Origin of the Juvenile Court.
2. The Future of the Juvenile Court.
3. The Influence of the Juvenile Court upon Orthodox Criminal Court Procedure.
4. The Psychology of Delinquency.
5. Mental Conflict in Cases of School Discipline.
6. The Origin of the Psychiatric Clinic for Delinquency.
7. Near-Delinquent Cases in Public Schools.



8. The Psychology of Certain Discipline Cases in School Administration.

9. Teaching and the Problem Child.

10. Coöperation of Schools and the Juvenile Court.

11. School Cases of Adolescent Delinquency and Their Treatment.

12. The Feeble-minded Delinquent.

## CRIME AND PENAL REFORM

### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the Social Significance of Crime?
2. Does Education Prevent Crime?
3. What is the Basis of the Theory of Punishment of Crime?
4. Why Does Not Fear of Punishment More Successfully Deter from Crime?

5. Should We have County Jails? Why Do We Continue Them?
6. Should Prisoners Be Paid Wages for Their Work?
7. What Community Conditions Encourage Crime?
8. Does the Death Penalty Tend to Prevent Murder?
9. What Kind of an Educational Program is Needed in Prisons?
10. How Can School Studies Be Used to Instill Law-Abiding Attitudes in Pupils?

11. What Topics with Reference to Crime should Be Taught in the Sociology Offered in Normal Schools and Schools of Education?

### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Legal Definition of Crime.
2. The Evolution of Criminal Law.
3. The History of Transportation for Crime.
4. The Reform of American Court Procedure.
5. Psychiatric Clinic Work of the Courts.
6. Lombroso's Theory of the Born Criminal.
7. The Evolution of the American Penal System.
8. The History of Self-Government in Prisons.
9. Parole and Probation.
10. Science and the Detection of Crime.

11. The Influence of the Automobile upon Crime.
12. The Contagious Character of Crime.
13. The Question of Criminal Responsibility.
14. The Psychology of Testimony.
15. Reform in the Use of the Testimony of Alienists in Murder Trials.
16. Present Tendencies in American Criminology.
17. Studies in Criminal Biographies.
18. An Educational Program as a Means of Decreasing Crime.

## **MENTAL DISEASE AND MENTAL HYGIENE**

### **TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION**

1. What Social Conditions Have Influenced the Mental Hygiene Movement?
2. How Has the Mental Hygiene Movement Influenced Public Education?
3. What Should Be the Mental Hygiene Program of the Public Schools?
4. What Can an Educational System Do to Conserve the Mental Health of Teachers?
5. What Social Conditions Antagonize the Mental Health of American Adults?
6. What School Conditions Hamper the Mental Health of School Children?
7. How Can School Strain Be Decreased for Teachers and Pupils?
8. What is the Effect of Prohibition on Mental Health?
9. What Influence Had the World War on the Development of Mental Hygiene?
10. How Can the School Detect and Treat Psychopathic Children?
11. What Should a Layman Know About Mental Disease?
12. What Should the College Do for Mental Hygiene?
13. How Do Home Conditions Influence Mental Disease?
14. How Do Economic Factors Influence Mental Disease?

## SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The History of Mental Hygiene in the United States.
2. The Endocrine Glands.
3. Dementia Praecox.
4. Mental Hygiene in Industry.
5. The Development of Modern Psychotherapy.
6. The Evolution of Psychoanalysis.
7. The Psychopathic Personality in Industry.
8. Statistics Regarding Mental Disease in the United States.
9. The Out-Patient Department of the Psychopathic Clinic.
10. The Significance of Children's Emotions for Mental Health.
11. Insanity and Legal Responsibility.
12. The Meaning of "Nervous Breakdown."
13. The Significance of "Shell Shock."
14. Alcohol and Insanity.
15. Community Organization for Mental Health.

## MENTAL DEFECT

## TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are the Causes of Feeble-mindedness?
2. What Have Been the Changes of Thought Concerning the Feeble-minded?
3. What is Meant by the Institutional Type of the Feeble-minded?
4. What Should an Efficient School System Do for the Backward Child?
5. What is the Importance of Early Habit Training of the Feeble-minded?
6. How Can the Rural School Deal with the Feeble-minded Child?
7. What Should the School Do with the Troublesome Feeble-minded Child?
8. How Do the Intelligence Tests Aid in the Discovery of the Feeble-minded?
9. Who Should Diagnose the Feeble-minded?

10. What Can be Done to Decrease Feeble-mindedness?
11. How Can a Community be Taught the Meaning of Feeble-mindedness?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Legal Status of the Feeble-minded.
2. The Hill Folk.
3. The Jukes—Past and Present.
4. The Farm Colony for the Feeble-minded.
5. The Policy of Segregation.
6. Sterilization of the Feeble-minded.
7. The Feeble-minded Delinquent.
8. Diagnosis and Classification of the Feeble-minded.
9. History of the Treatment of the Feeble-minded.
10. Influence of Special Instruction of Feeble-minded upon General Educational Procedure.
11. Organization of Special Class Work for the Defective and Backward.
12. The Work of Edward Seguin.

#### MODERN CONDITIONS INFLUENCING FAMILY LIFE

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are the Chief Social Influences that Change Family Life?
2. What Family Attitudes at Present Are Due to Sentiment?
3. In What Ways is the Rural Homestead Family Changing?
4. What Social Conditions at Present Encourage the Companionate?
5. How Can Successful Parenthood be Given Greater Social Recognition?
6. Should Domestic Science Courses be Required of All High School Girls?
7. Should Some Type of Domestic Science be Required of All High School Boys?
8. How Can Housekeeping be Made a Less Individualistic and Segregated Occupation?

9. What in America Tends to Produce the Parasitic Wife?
10. In What Ways Has the Family in the Past Hampered Progress? Advanced Progress?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. John Fiske's Treatment of the Infancy Period.
2. Differences Between Contemporary Rural and Urban Family Life.
3. Conditions of Urban Family Life that Encourage the Growth of Socialism.
4. Child Labor Laws and the Birthrate.
5. The Influence of Taxation upon Family Life.
6. Woman's Part in Primitive Culture.
7. Influence of the Industrial Revolution upon the Status of Woman.
8. The Social Use of Woman's Leisure.
9. The History of the American Family.
10. The Evolution of the Primitive Family.
11. The Social Results of Pensions for Mothers.
12. Experiments in Teaching Parents.
13. An Eugenic Program for Marriage.
14. Social Interpretation of Present Marriage Statistics.
15. Experiments in Coöperative Housekeeping.
16. The Present Legal Status of Woman in the United States.

#### DIVORCE AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Are Some of the Savage Customs Regarding Divorce?
2. What were the Colonial Customs Regarding Divorce?
3. What Influences Have Tended Toward an Increase in Divorce in This Country?
4. In What Degree is the Recent Increase in Divorce an Indication of Higher Standards of Marriage?
5. Why Do Women Get Divorces More Often than Men?
6. Why Has Public Opinion Regarding Divorce Changed?



7. Is Education Making Marriage More Difficult?
8. What Are the Evils of Delayed Marriage?
9. What Can the Schools Do to Decrease Divorce?
10. Should We Have a Federal Uniform Divorce Law?
11. Should Married Women be Permitted to Teach?
12. What Changes Should be Made in Divorce Trials?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. Divorce Among Savages.
2. Colonial Policy Respecting Divorce.
3. Statistics Regarding American Divorces.
4. Recent Changes in English Law Respecting Divorce.
5. The Court of Domestic Relations.
6. The Work of Judge Charles Hoffman, Cincinnati Family Court.
7. Psychological Causes of Divorce.
8. Religious Aspects of Divorce.
9. Effect of Divorce upon Children.
10. Instruction in Marriage Ethics as a Means of Decreasing Divorce.
11. Radical Thought Concerning the Family.
12. State Differences in Divorce Laws.

#### THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why Has Fiction Made so Much of the Unmarried Mother?
2. What Home Conditions Encourage Illegitimacy?
3. What Influences Are Decreasing Illegitimacy?
4. What Are the Causes of the High Death Rate of Illegitimate Children?
5. When Should an Illegitimate Child be Removed from Its Mother? When Left with the Mother?
6. What Conditions in the Rural Environment Make for Illegitimacy?
7. Will the Lifting of the Taboo Against the Unmarried Mother Increase Illegitimacy?

8. How Far Should Law Go in Holding the Father Responsible for his Illegitimate Child?
9. What Conditions Justify the Forced Marriage?
10. How Can the School Decrease Illegitimacy?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. Progress in Dealing with the Legal Aspects of Illegitimacy.
2. Statistics Regarding Illegitimacy in the United States.
3. Legal and Social Protection of the Adopted Child.
4. Illegitimacy Among American Negroes.
5. What Has Been Revealed by Investigations Regarding Baby Farms.
6. The Mentality of Unmarried Mothers.
7. The Problem of the Rural Unmarried Mother.
8. The Problem of Legal Protection Against Blackmail and False Accusation.
9. The Influence of the Great War upon Illegitimacy.
10. The School Administrator's Policy with Reference to a Case of Illegitimacy in the School.
11. The Treatment of Illegitimacy in Foreign Countries.
12. The Illegitimate Child as a School Problem.

#### SETTLEMENTS AND THE CITY NEIGHBORHOOD

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Social Conditions Contributed to the Success of the Settlement Movement?
2. Why Did the Settlements Appeal to the College Youth?
3. Does the Settlement Appeal Less to Modern College Youth than Formerly?
4. What are the Characteristic Activities of a Modern Settlement?
5. Should there be Rural Settlements?
6. What has been the Contribution of the Settlements to Education?
7. What has been the Political Influence of the American Settlements?

8. What have the Settlements Contributed to American Recreation?
9. How can Settlements and Public Schools Coöperate?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Settlement as a Forum.
2. The Settlement and Municipal Reform.
3. The History of Hull House.
4. The Program of a Typical Settlement.
5. The Settlement as a Social Research Station.
6. Settlement Dramatics.
7. Changing Emphasis in Settlement Activities.
8. Organization of a City Neighborhood.
9. Work and Life of Canon Barnett.
10. American Settlement Leaders.
11. Influence of the Settlement upon Public Opinion.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How is the Health Problem Related to Other Social Problems?
2. What has been the Influence of the Great War upon Public Health?
3. What has Caused the Decline in Tuberculosis?
4. What Social Factors Influence Infant Mortality?
5. What are the Schools Contributing to Public Health?
6. What are the Health Responsibilities of an Efficient School?
7. Do Children's Diseases Become Epidemic with the Opening of School?
8. What are the Difficulties in Socializing Medicine?
9. What Progress has been Made in Preventive Medicine?
10. What are the Health Problems of Industry?
11. How Can the Schools Decrease Accidents?
12. What Should Be Done to Protect Pedestrians from Automobile Accidents?

13. How Can a Community Have Safe Milk and Water?
14. How Can a Community Protect Itself against Epidemics?
15. How Can Educational Policy Conserve the Health of Teachers?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Beginning of the Modern Public Health Movement.
2. The Work of the American Red Cross.
3. The Life Extension Institute.
4. The Conquest of Yellow Fever.
5. The Life and Work of Trudeau.
6. The Framingham Experiment in Public Health.
7. Ventilation of Schools.
8. Health Education Through the Schools.
9. Malnutrition Among School Children.
10. The Work of the Rockefeller Foundation.
11. The Social Menace of Narcotic Drugs.
12. Organizing a Community for Health.
13. Public Health in Rural Communities.
14. Health Examinations for Adults.
15. Health Insurance.
16. Welfare Programs for Workers.
17. Bad Housing and Health.
18. Social Tendencies in Medicine.

#### SOCIAL HYGIENE

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the Aims of Social Hygiene?
2. How Should Social Hygiene be Taught in the Grades. In the High School? In College? In Normal School?
3. How Can Churches Assist the Social Hygiene Movement?
4. How Can Parents be Taught the Principles of Social Hygiene?
5. How Can Schools Solve the Dance Problem?
6. How Should Schools Treat the Problem of Dress that Stimulates Sex?

7. What is the Value and the Danger of Books of Sex Instruction for the Young?
8. How Should a Superintendent Deal with a Sex Problem in His Schools?
9. What Sex Problems Most Commonly Arise in Rural Schools? In City Schools?
10. How Can the Schools Use Athletics and Recreation as a Preventive of Sex Problems?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. An Outline for Social Hygiene Teaching in High School Biology.
2. Literature as a Means of Teaching Social Hygiene.
3. A Critical Review of Books on Social Hygiene for Young People.
4. A Critical Review of Representative Books on Social Hygiene for Parents.
5. The Moral Side of Social Hygiene.
6. Recent Progress Against Syphilis.
7. The History of the American Social Hygiene Movement.
8. Social Hygiene and Public Health.
9. Pioneers in Social Hygiene.
10. Effective Laws Against Prostitution.
11. The Value of Social Hygiene for the Conservation of the Home.
12. Eugenics and Social Hygiene.

#### IMMIGRATION

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Social Conditions Influenced the Early Immigration Policy of the United States?
2. What European Conditions have Influenced Our Recent Immigration?
3. How Much has Sentiment Influenced American Immigration Policy?
4. What Influence Did the World War Have Upon Our Immigration Policy?



5. What are the Causes of Modern Emigration?
6. Why Do Not Rural Immigrants More Often Settle on the Land?
7. What is Meant by the Melting Pot?
8. What are the Causes of Opposition to Japanese Immigration?
9. How has Immigration Affected Public Education?
10. What have the Schools Contributed to the Americanization of Adult Immigrants?
11. How has Immigration Influenced American Cities?
12. To What Extent is Inter-marriage Solving the Problem of Assimilation of Immigrants?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The History of American Immigration.
2. The Influence of American Immigration upon Europe.
3. Cultural Contributions of American Immigrants.
4. Influence of Immigrants upon Political Parties and Political Policies.
5. The Significance of the Immigrant Press.
6. The Immigrant and Industrial Development.
7. Immigration in Relation to American Poverty and Crime.
8. Chinese Immigration.
9. Japanese Immigration.
10. The Americanization Work of Industry.
11. The Americanization Program of the Public School.
12. The Problems of the Educated Immigrant.
13. Walker's Theory of Immigration.
14. Intelligence Testing of Immigrants.

#### RACE FRICTION

##### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the Racial Characteristics of the Negro?
2. What are the Causes of Recent Negro Migrations to the North?
3. What are the Causes, Consequences and Cure of Lynch Law?

4. Why are American Negroes More Aggressive Since the World War?
5. Will Aggressiveness Retard or Advance Negro Progress?
6. What are the Psychological Factors in Race Friction?
7. What is the Social Basis of Race Prejudice?
8. What are the Economic Causes of Race Riots?
9. What are the Industrial Handicaps of the Negro in the North?
10. What are the Housing Problems of the Northern Negro?
11. How Can Education Aid Race Understanding?
12. What Evidences are there of a Better Relation Between Negroes and Whites in the South? In the North?
13. How Can Education Destroy Race Prejudice?
14. How Do Negro and White Children Compare in School Work in the North?
15. What is the Probable Solution of the American Race Problem?

## SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. Negro Culture in Africa.
2. Booker T. Washington as a Negro Leader.
3. What We Know Concerning the Mulatto.
4. The Industrial School as an Aid to Negro Progress.
5. The Legal Status of the Negro.
6. The Negro Press in the United States.
7. The Work of Du Bois.
8. Race Problems in South Africa.
9. The Negro in the World War.
10. Vital Statistics Concerning the Negro.
11. Northern Race Riots.
12. The History of Tuskegee Institute.
13. Work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
14. Negro Literature.
15. Negro Radicalism.
16. Progress of the Negro in the Rural South.
17. The Negro and Trades Unions.
18. Solutions Advocated for the American Race Problem.

**RURAL LIFE**

## TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What Can the Schools Do to Prevent Excessive Rural Emigration?
2. What Can the Schools Do to Improve Agricultural Practices?
3. How Can the Schools Assist in the Development of Coöperation Among Farmers?
4. Are Farmers Less Coöperative in Tendency than City People?
5. How Can the Rural Schools Make Greater Use of Agricultural Papers?
6. What Should be the Content of Courses in Rural Sociology for Rural High Schools?
7. What Can Rural Grade Schools Teach in Rural Social Science?
8. What Can the School Do to Interpret to a Rural Community Recreational Resources?
9. Is Child Labor Necessary in Rural Districts?
10. How Can Farmers Exercise Their Full Share of Political Influence?
11. What are the Handicaps of Teaching in Rural Sections at Present?
12. Is the Rural School Progressing in Effective Social Service as Fast as the City School?

## SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Psychological Causes of City Drift.
2. The Economic Causes of City Drift.
3. The Social Value of Rural Experience.
4. The Evolution of American Rural Life.
5. The History of English Rural Life.
6. The French Peasant and His National Significance.
7. The Agricultural Development of Denmark.
8. Present Tendencies in the Rural Church.
9. Rural Community Organization.
10. Problems of Rural Recreation.
11. The Rural Press.
12. Portrayal of the Rural Problem in Fiction.

13. Social Problems of the American Village.
14. The Work of the Country Life Association.
15. The Development of Rural Sociology in America.
16. The Consolidated Rural High School.
17. The Training of Rural Teachers.
18. The School as a Neighborhood Center.
19. An Outline for Rural Sociology in Agricultural High Schools.
20. The Rural Pageant.
21. Using the School to Encourage Recreation in the Country.
22. Gilbert White, an Interpreter of Country Environment.
23. Tenant Farming in the United States.
24. Farm Labor Problems.
25. The Rural Survey.
26. The Improvement of Elementary Rural Education.
27. Using the School for the Aesthetic Education of Rural People.
28. The Social Service of the State Agricultural College.

## PUBLIC OPINION

### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why does Public Opinion Have Such Social Force?
2. How does Public Opinion Originate with Children?
3. How does Public Opinion Influence Legislation?
4. How is Consciousness of Kind Related to Public Opinion?
5. What is Social Suggestion?
6. What is Class Opinion and How Made?
7. What is the Social Danger of Propaganda?
8. How Does Education Decrease the Risks of Propaganda?
9. What are the Social Problems of the American Newspaper?
10. How Does Science Influence Public Opinion?
11. How is the Public Opinion of a School Formed?
12. Do Teachers in America Influence Public Opinion in Proportion to Members of Other Professions?

### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Psychological Basis of Public Opinion.
2. The Emotional Element in Propaganda.
3. The Social Effect of Advertisements.
4. Public Opinion in the Rural Community.

5. Public Opinion and the American Newspaper.
6. Freedom of the Press and Newspaper Responsibility.
7. The Legal Definition of Libel.
8. DeFoe, Swift, William Cobbett and Other Famous Makers of English Public Opinion.
9. Famous American Newspapers.
10. Present Tendencies in American Journalism.
11. The Press Syndicate.
12. The Country Newspaper as a Social Force.
13. The Effects of Newspaper Censorship.
14. Education for Social Leadership.

### SOCIAL UNREST

#### TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the Characteristics of Present Social Conduct?
2. Why are We Likely to Overestimate Our Social Unrest?
3. Does Modern Publicity Encourage Social Unrest?
4. How Does Education Influence Social Unrest?
5. Is it Wise to Limit the Expression of Social Unrest?
6. How Far is Social Discontent a Stimulus of Progress?
7. What has been the Influence of the World War upon Unrest?
8. Does Wealth Increase Unrest?
9. How Can the Schools Develop Social Sanity?
10. Are Professional People More Socially Discontented than Others?

#### SUBJECTS FOR REPORT

1. The Psychological Basis of Modern Unrest.
2. The Inferiority Complex and Social Reform.
3. A Review of Le Bon's "The World in Revolt."
4. Social Unrest Among Women.
5. The Psychology of the Radical.
6. Chief Causes of Industrial Unrest.
7. The Work of the Psychiatrist in Decreasing Industrial Unrest.
8. Science and Social Sanity.
9. The Teaching of Science as a Basis for Moral Discipline.
10. Urban Life and Social Unrest.



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